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*Mr. Ritchie
Printer*

Parliamentary Reform

ON CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES:

BY

JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST.

"There is, and ever will be, justice enough in the world, to afford patronage and protection for those who endeavour to advance truth or virtue, without regard to the passions or prejudices of any particular cause or faction. If I have any merit in me, it is that I have new pointed some of the batteries of ridicule."

SPECTATOR.

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

By JOHN CARTWRIGHT, Esq.

B. 1. 1. 1.

Gilchrist

Q. Did you find any other evidence of any

other person's presence?

A. Yes.

Q. What was that?

A. A cigarette.

Q. Did you find any other evidence of any other person's presence?

A. Yes, a cigarette, a cigarette butt.

Q. Did you find any other evidence of any other person's presence?

A. Yes, a cigarette, a cigarette butt.

Q. Did you find any other evidence of any other person's presence?

A. Yes, a cigarette, a cigarette butt.

Q.

A.

ALL: YES
Q: YES
A: YES

Parliamentary Reform,

ON CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES;

OR,

BRITISH LOYALTY

AGAINST

CONTINENTAL ROYALTY,

THE WHOLE

HOST OF SACERDOTAL INQUISITORS IN EUROPE,

AND EVERY

INIQUITOUS JUDGE, CORRUPT RULER, VENAL

CORPORATION, ROTTEN BOROUGH, SLAVISH

EDITOR, OR JACOBITICAL TOAD-EATER

WITHIN

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

BY

JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST. 1759-184

"STRIKE, BUT HEAR ME."

"*Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica Veritas.*"

"*Fiat justitia, ruat calum.*"

GLASGOW.

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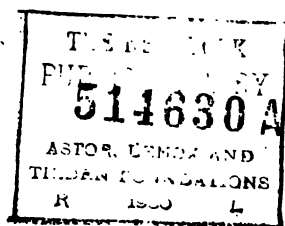
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And Sold by all the Booksellers in Town and Country.

Also to be had at No. 10, Drummond-Street; and No. 3, Nicolson-Square, Edinburgh.

1815.

LT



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ERRATUM.

In some of the copies, page 39, for *priggler*, read *juggler*.

1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This involves conducting market research to determine what consumers want and need. Once a need is identified, the next step is to develop a concept for a product that meets that need.

2. The second step is to create a prototype of the product. This involves designing and building a small-scale model of the product that can be used to test the concept and gather feedback from potential customers. The prototype is typically made of a material that is easy to work with, such as wood or plastic, and is often used to demonstrate the basic functionality of the product.

3. The third step is to conduct a feasibility study. This involves evaluating the technical, financial, and market viability of the product. The study typically involves a detailed analysis of the costs of production, the potential revenue, and the competitive landscape. The results of the study are used to determine whether the product is worth pursuing and to identify any potential risks or challenges.

4. The fourth step is to develop a business plan. This involves creating a detailed plan for how the product will be marketed, sold, and distributed. The plan typically includes information about the target market, the marketing strategy, the sales channels, and the financial projections. The business plan is used to secure funding and to guide the development and launch of the product.

5. The fifth step is to launch the product. This involves producing the product at scale and distributing it to the market. The launch typically involves a marketing campaign to generate awareness and interest in the product, as well as a sales strategy to ensure that the product is available to potential customers. The launch is often followed by a period of monitoring and evaluation to assess the product's performance and to make any necessary adjustments.

[illegible]

TO
MAJOR JOHN CARTWRIGHT,
LONDON.

My Dear Major,

Many years before I had the honour of your acquaintance, and the pleasure of enjoying your society, as a guest under my humble roof, my mind's eye was fixed on you as the chosen man, with the aid of a few such sterling characters as yourself, who might live long enough to redeem your beloved Old England from the degraded state of slavery and corruption into which she has unhappily fallen, since the days of the immortal Alfred, and that Glorious Revolution which secured, upon liberal principles, the Crown of these Realms, to the illustrious House of Brunswick by the Voice of the People;

Hei mihi, qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo
Hectore.—

The period of such redemption on constitutional principles, seems nearly arrived, and in that conviction, I have roused my heart from the despondency and frivolous pursuits in which it has long been entangled, that it might not be completely broken, before some Hampden like yourself, should be enabled to pour the balm of consolation and redress successfully, upon many a wounded spirit like my own, by that very radical process of Reform, to which you certainly have converted me. Having been some years ago most iniquitously branded with INFAMY, by a red hot iron of our College of Justice, the preservation of life, limb, property, liberty, or domestic comfort, have all, from that damning stigma, become to me objects of the most perfect indifference; and I now present myself to the British Public, as a volunteer sacrifice on the altar of my Country's unalienable Rights, that immediate reform

of existing abuses, by legal measures, may, if yet possible, pave the way for a radical cure to all her corrosive and corroding wrongs. After this declaration, you must not, my dear Sir, wonder, if you find some daring truths, in defiance of libel, and EX OFFICIO INQUISITORS, from the beginning to the end of this publication: because, though they may crush one worm of Reform, by the relentless foot of a Rotten Borough, my spirit shall spurn at their impotency, and soar far beyond the reach of remorseless venal giants, who inhabit the earth in these our days. Since the morning you left my house, the vortex of reformation, into which your political creed and logic plunged me, has whirled with such impetuosity, that no leisure has been found for the deliberation and arrangement, so necessary in a pamphlet, intended for general circulation among my countrymen; great allowances will consequently be made by liberal minds, for many errors and defects in this performance, which can easily be corrected, should it survive a first edition. To those of my fellow citizens, who last year lent a hand, by their votes and countenance, basely to stigmatize me as an incendiary, a seditious demagogue and a traitor to my country and its legitimate king, you will perceive that I have thrown out the black flag of death or victory, before the grand jury of my national peers. I now solemnly accuse, and summon one and all of my foes, to answer my present retort of their infamous charges against me, at that awful tribunal of unerring judgment, from whose decision indeed, there can be no appeal, when they and I post to "the land of the leal," for which, on the score of loyalty, I am as well prepared as the best of them. Whatever my other sins may be, for which I have to implore the mercy of a just and gracious God, at the great day of trial, the want of honest affection for Scotia and her brave upright sons, never can be urged against me by the Devil, that arch-accuser himself, or any of his infernal crew on the face of the earth, or from the deepest recesses of the bottomless pit. My loyalty indeed may differ greatly from the royalty now so fashionable at Paris, Madrid, and other capitals,

too numerous for insertion, because its characteristic as an independent Caledonian is briefly this: I could with fervent devotion kiss the spot of ground, if I knew it, which has ever been hallowed with the print of the noble William Wallace's foot; while I would not condescend to wipe one shoe of the immaculate David King of Israel, were the wandering, or any other Jew, to present so precious a relick for this act of homage to an indignant Scot. You will perceive, in the discussion of the Union Canal's merits in these sheets, how, and why my feelings are roused to a degree of phrenzy, that I can only controul by giving them vent in this great gun, if you please to call me so, though I lately ran the risk, and may do so now, of excommunication from the Kirk of Scotland, at present amply supplied with ordnance of so capacious a calibre as to admit the largest blackamoor's head, from any Tobacconist's shop in Edinburgh, for discharge, like grape or cannister shot, against every radical in the United Kingdom. In page 141, will be seen the luminous extinguisher of the Royal Society, clapt on my plebeian rushlight, as a firebrand, which whizzed something about the march of the human mind; and in page 132, no less a sum than fourteen thousand pounds, may be descried taking a rampant leap from my bank, to that of a powerful rival's, who had most cordially joined in the denunciation on my head, as an outcast Chapman from the Merchant company, whose crazy pack could not be safely trusted with so large a sum by any prudent Royalist, who cherished a natural antipathy to seditious Loyalists of every description; more especially, one who had dared to condemn the city Magistrates for foul play among the fire and water works belonging to the community. The Résolutions in these sheets, I confess, are too long, but they are, in fact, the broken fragments of a speech, which my co-adjutors conceived too prolix for any audience, though consisting of evident truisms, and many sound political confessions of faith, that I was unwilling to consign to oblivion, in a country like Scotland, hardly emerged from the gloom of vassalage to the dawn of rational freedom, which some thirty years ago, was so

completely eclipsed by the terrible dragons of the reformer Pitt, that hardly one ray of light has been since shed on the subject, till your late lecture conjured the tartarean darkness of our horizon almost entirely away. From the hardy sons of insulted, starved, betrayed Norway, we have urgent reasons to hope for some practical lessons on sound and popular freedom in a limited monarchy, and they shall occasionally corruscate in the pages of the *Aurora Borealis*, as those loyal northern streamers, on constitutional principles, which never can mislead so intelligent a people as we are, though perhaps not quite on the north side of all the Scandinavian shores, in point of liberal policy.

Some sage may importunately demand, what particular grievances, however insufferable, have to do with the general process of Radical Reform, and why blend my private complaints with a remonstrance against public wrongs? Every sapient head of this inquisitive class, may be referred to the synthetical method of demonstration, preferred by the great Lord Bacon, to the analytical mode of resolving any proposition. The House of Commons invariably demand strong cases, as the basis of any investigation, bill, or parliamentary act before they will proceed in the operation required for the relief of individuals or communities. I have consequently composed, *secundem artem*, more than one statement of facts, which I defy the enemies of Reform to contradict, when I moreover here tell them, that while men of even my reputed slender gold or mental talents have to run a ten year's gauntlet of political persecution, what must be the fate of the miserable sinners, who can hardly boast of so much in silver? On the answer to this one question, we may safely erect a hypothetical edifice, that carries conviction from the very foundation or corner-stone, to the highest pinnacle in the temple of truth, which no honest independent mind can, or will now contemplate as a fabrication.

Other authorities for my conduct as a political writer, or champion in the literary field, may still be wanting, let inquisitors after them, also ask the shades of the Royal Robert Bruce,

the Regal Gustavus Vasa, the renowned William Wallace, the magnanimous William Tell and the illustrious Hampden, and learn the glorious consequences which resulted, from their original desire to obtain individually retributive justice, to their respective countries, before I can be justly taxed with the rage of impotent revenge, or the insane notion of filling every breast with my partial resentments. A numerous respectable body of my fellow subjects, as subscribers to the Union Canal, were last season duped and insulted in the grossest manner, besides being dexterously kicked out of Parliament, as turbulent seditious fools or madmen, who dared, with three hundred thousand pounds in their pockets, to oppose the merits of their practicable line of canal, to the well known deserts of one, which had accordingly been deserted, as a plan utterly impracticable, for the long space of thirty years: till lately re-adopted by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, as the only one which the public were to have, should it, like the Corn Bill, be crammed down their throats at the bayonet's point. I here, in my own name, and in that of my fellow subscribers, enter my solemn protest against all such partial proceedings, and conjure the Independent Members of Parliament, at the approaching Session, to watch over the reasonable claims of the Union Canal subscribers, who never yet had an opportunity afforded them, fairly to state the particular hardships of their case. Some highly improper, but seasonable riots for the enemies of the Union Canal, took place in Edinburgh; and though they evidently originated in the obnoxious Corn Bill then passed, these atrocious movements were very sinistrously laid at the doors of the innocent petitioners in favour of the Union Canal. Let this dark transaction, be impartially exposed to the light of day, and I shall stake every thing dear to my character, that it would prove one of the strongest arguments in favour of Radical Reform which this publication, or any other, can contain.

You have for thirty years, been throwing the pure pearls of reason at the feet of swine, without having succeeded in making

so many Bacons on the score of rational powers, as your persevering exertions have certainly deserved which has induced me to view the subject in a different light, and suit my prescriptions to the nature of the disease, as you must have perceived, in one of my mottoes to this publication. Both John Bull and Sanders Second-sight, have long been obnoxious to morbid affections in their vitals, from the number of rotten eggs of the Borough Brood, which have been pent up in their bowels, with the most deleterious effects on their respective constitutions. Flatulency, constipation, cachexy, nay, cholera morbus, or what the French term the dog's disease, and its concomitant Paci-phobia, have all in their turns, threatened the lives of their patients, in spite of the number of placebos which state empirics have hitherto prescribed. In dangerous cases, let us, like Doctor Last, ply the Malade at both ends: You, with your radical lavement, and I with the gilded pill of good humour, or the nauseous potion of Corporation venality, and the devil must be in the belly of the beasts, if we do not soon purge and vomit both their constitutions, into a state of renovated health in body and mind; or as a learned Doctor must term it, Mens sana, in corpore sano, on the soundest principle; and secundum artem, as honest state-wrights, or sworn physicians.

Some shrewd persons may persist in observing that were Radical Reform really a popular desideratum, the cry for it would be so general, that no Minister could dare to disregard it any longer; but to this, let me in a few words reply: In the following pages, ample reasons are assigned for the supposed apathy on this head, though a very formidable one has not yet been stated. The great majority of the manufacturing classes, in many parts of the country, when consulted about petitions, have indignantly driven the friends of Reform about Constitutional Principles away from them, with this alarming apostrophe: "Talk no longer to us about your canting prayers and slavish petitions, the day for such acts of servile devotion has passed away for ever, since the Corn Bill was crammed down the throat

“ of the Nation, while the Voice of the People, though stifled with
 “ Bayonets and Gunpowder, was loud, deep, and universal against
 “ it. Whenever this attitude can be safely reversed, with your peti-
 “ tions at the end of a pike, we then indeed may prove ourselves to
 “ be freemen, who spurn at the persevering obsequiousness of
 “ wretches like all you hypocritical Reformers. Begone! we are
 “ sick to death of you, and all such miserable supplications.”

This piece of intelligence I shall here freely communicate to the existing government; and though I expect none of their secret-service-money, I may add, that they should be cautious of reducing or diminishing their large standing army, till the salutary work of Reformation proceeds under the auspices, and by the direction of our State Pilots, lest they encounter a shocking tornado, that every loyal subject must deprecate, as much as we do, for our own sake, and that of the whole country.

I have lately discovered a whole volume of most extraordinary printed documents, connected with the Rotten Boroughs of Scotland, a duplicate of which I have directed, in safe hands, for you, in case of any accident happening to myself before the whole be published, to convince the deluded people of this country, of their vassalage to the most villanous system of vile corruption and despicable venality that ever disgraced a Christian community. If you can procure any papers of the same sort in London, where the General Convention Committee had a corresponding branch, you will do the cause of Radical Reform the most essential service, by so disgusting a display of Ramical abuses in this portion of the United Empire.

You are well aware of the unfair treatment to which all the Opposition Publications are exposed, in every part of the Kingdom, at the whole of the public reading-rooms, coffee-houses, hotels, &c. For one of them, not fewer than eight of the Ministerial prints may readily be obtained, and in many places, not a single paper on the side of liberty, can be had for love or money. Nay, it often happens, that when the Morning Chronicle or Independent Whig, &c. contain a well written

essay or paragraph, in defence of rational and liberal principles of policy, the whole paper is carried off or concealed by some infernal spirit, and cannot afterwards be found. Under such discouraging circumstances, it indeed behoves the Friends of Radical Reform, in some way or other, to counteract the fatal effects of this growing evil upon all their reasonable expectations of something like fair play between them and their opponents. In Edinburgh, it is generally believed, that an official list is preserved of every resident there, who receives Cobbet's Register, or any other obnoxious performance, that in due time and place, he may be taught more prudence.

Before most of my readers reach the end of these typographical toils, you, among the rest, will be apt to stamp me as one of the vainest little fellows you ever met with in the whole course of a long eventful life. Rather than take the trouble here to exculpate myself from the charge, I shall at once plead guilty, that nobody may have reason to accuse me in this respect, at least, of very notorious singularity, by any deviation from the well known canon attributed to the wisest of men, "Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity," consequently both you and I come under the general rule, for Solomon evidently had not one exception in his mind's eye, when he stamped this dogma on the face of the universe.

Be assured, my dear Sir, that every attention will be paid to your strictures on the Political Speculum, so far as they shall stand the test of my own deliberate judgment; for although your great experience, acknowledged abilities, and sterling integrity, command my highest admiration and warmest esteem, I never do implicitly pin my faith to the sleeve of any man, however superior to myself, until I can, by thought and reflection, assign a sound reason for all my confessions; as his disciple.

Believe me, my Dear Major,

Your's most faithfully,

JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST.

GLASGOW, 1st. Nov. 1815.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

PROCEEDINGS of a MEETING, convened by Public Advertisement and Hand-Bills, for that purpose, in the Fives Court, or Cockpit, Rose Street, Edinburgh, on Tuesday the 3d October, 1815.

A number of nearly Three Hundred GENTLEMEN, FREEMEN, and CITIZENS, having assembled at the Hour appointed, One o'Clock, it was proposed, by Captain WILLIAM JOHNSTON, that Dr BORTHWICK GILCHRIST be invited to take the Chair; which Motion being duly seconded by Mr EWING, and unanimously approved, the Chairman proceeded to open the Business with the following Address.

Gentlemen, Freemen, and Fellow-Citizens!

IT having fallen to my lot to discharge the duty of opening the business for which we are now assembled, I trust you will attribute any deficiencies on my part rather to a weak head, than a cold heart;—for not one, in this Meeting, can glow with more warmth, in our good cause, than my own; and I hope that you will therefore hear me with patience, if not with approbation. Permit me to commence by reading the hand-bill which has convened us together, by no higher authority than a simple appeal to each individual's private feelings, on the public subject of Constitutional Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament.

I am most happy to perceive, that the call has not been made in vain, though every practicable obstruction has been thrown in

the way of our advertisement, by hand-bills, that its existence and circulation might prove as little known as possible to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

The Friends to a Constitutional Reform in the Representation of the People in Parliament, who actually pay Taxes to the Government, are requested to meet on Tuesday the 3d of October, at One o'Clock, in the Rose-Street Fives Court, West End, No. 180, for adopting the most proper form of Petition to the House of Commons, for the foresaid purpose.

Such persons, qualified as above, who may attend for the desirable object of obtaining a renovation of the Constitution, will, of course, imitate the peaceable and orderly conduct of the Loyal Inhabitants of Glasgow, who assembled, on a similar occasion, with the utmost success; and the result here must also prove equally auspicious.

Edinburgh, Sept. 30, 1815.

From the nature of the invitation now announced, we may fairly conclude, that those only who were invited, compose the real constituent body of this assembly; consequently, there cannot occur any discussion on the mere question of Reform, whatever arguments may be adduced among ourselves, with respect to the *means* of attaining our *object*, or the *extent* to which it should be carried.

From those who deem every attempt at political reformation, however seasonable, judicious, and peaceable, a vain and dangerous labour, we expect neither cordial aid, nor officious intrusion, as they surely will feel as little inclined to identify themselves with us, on the present occasion, as we should be to join them, or our avowed opponents, the *anti-reformists*, in petitions for the permanency of the *existing system* of government, with, to many of them at least, all its *promising* and *substantial* blessings. We

are not, however, so unjust or illiberal, as to consider those who are not with us, as being all against us; because we well know, that many an honest heart, morally speaking, is on the *right* side; while their hands and tongues, from motives of prudence, timidity, apprehension, connection, or even despair, are *tied up* to support a state of things, which they are, nevertheless, conscious is truly *wrong*. After this explanation, what person here can doubt, that the same orderly conduct, unanimity, and good-will which were so lately evinced among the Glasgow *Loyalists*, who there petitioned for Reform, will not only grace the whole of our proceedings, but also carry us all home in safety and peace to our respective places of abode, as the discreet citizens and freemen of Edinburgh.

Some of my hearers will probably be surprised at the epithet *Loyal* being applied to our friends in the west country, by concluding, that the term, though hitherto often prostituted to the basest purposes, is equally applicable to every individual here; and so in the fair construction of language, really is the case, being the derivative from *loi*, "a law," as royal is from *roi*, "a King;" whence, in France, the partizans of Louis, are justly called *Royalists*, being those who support the *divine rights of Kings*, and the *passive obedience* and *non-resistance* of their subjects.

From our political principles, which will soon be developed in our *Confession of Faith*, while we may conscientiously claim the title of *Loyalists*, we shall never envy those who controvert the soundness of our doctrines, their more appropriate appellation of *Pure Royalists*, as their worthy *brethren* in France are now affording such convincing proof of their *arbitrary* sentiments and *sanguinary* dispositions, that every honest man, who reveres a *limited monarchy*, must shrink with horror from the defence of the conduct and leading principles of the *Pure Rectilinear Royalists*, in that *devoted* empire.

To weak men, who can reason only by calling each other abusive names, we shall consign the *multum in parvo* slang of *Jacobin*

and *Black Neb*, on one hand, to be counterbalanced by the more significant designations of *Royalist* and *Jacobite*, on the other; while, as rational beings, we shall confine our arguments within the bounds of candid discussion, without flinching from so wide a field for the exercise of logical acumen, whenever and wherever an open enemy bravely throws down the gauntlet. *Reformers*, in every age and country, must, for a while, patiently submit to contempt, abuse, and ungenerous treatment, with that becoming fortitude, which nothing but the consciousness of a just cause can inspire, until the dark clouds of ignorance, avarice, and error, that malignantly lower on the light of radical truth, shall break asunder, and display the rising radiance of her heavenly splendour.

In this hope let us manfully persevere, though the magisterial *Anti-reformists*, *Rulers*, *Scribes*, *Levites*, and *Pharisees*, of our *Jerusalem*, have so far frowned, on the humble disciples of *Reform*, as to make us fain to shelter our devoted heads, and obnoxious petitions, under the roof of a Cockpit, or trust them, uncovered, during the scowl of equinoxial storms, to the care of Providence and the canopy of heaven.

Major Cartwright, as an independent *Englishman* of the *Hampden* school, though far advanced in years, and constitutionally a valetudinarian, lately imposed on himself the arduous task of reading a long and impressive discourse on the *nature, origin, progress and extent* of the *English Constitution*, to the advocates of, and petitioners for, reform in the Scottish capital.

The person who had unintentionally devoted a room to the venerable apostle of radical Reform, for his lecture, in the centre of the city, was menaced with supreme displeasure, even for his mercenary hospitality to the aged *Champion of Freedom*, who had previously applied in vain, to the *Grand Freemasons of Scotland*, for the use of their *Lodge*, to accommodate his self and audience, on that particular occasion.

Our veteran leader, scorning to hide his self or political principles in holes or corners, nor willing to place the *light* of ancient

English law and Saxon history, whence his conclusions are all drawn, *under a bushel*, in the very *cradle* of Caledonian liberty, religion, jurisprudence, and literature, boldly made one effort to convince both the high and the low, of this place, that his doctrines were sound, and every way constitutional.

For this generous purpose, Major Cartwright avowedly circulated the handbill, which I shall now read, and distributed his tickets accordingly.

Edinburgh, 19th Sept. 1815.

A LECTURE on the Constitution of England will be delivered at the Royal Exchange Coffee-Room, High-Street, on Friday next, 22d of this instant, precisely at One o'Clock, P. M. by JOHN CARTWRIGHT, Esq. For admission to which, 200 Tickets free of Expence, will be presented to Dignitaries of the Law, to Civil Magistrates, to Land Proprietors, to Professors and Doctors of the University, to Ministers of Religion, to Commission Officers of the Navy or Army, and other Gentlemen, to Members of the Faculty of Advocates, to Writers of the Signet, to Solicitors, to Practitioners in Medicine, to Merchants, Manufacturers, and others in Trade, to Agriculturists and Operatives in Mechanics, &c.

I blush for the chilling reception, that our admirer of the patriotic King Alfred, of the *Glorious Revolution of 1688*, and the friend of the enlightened Sir William Jones met with, from the noble, the reverend, the worshipful, and the mighty men of this ancient metropolis, while my heart glows with delight and satisfaction at the very opposite conduct of many thousands in Scotland; who, though neither baronets nor right honourables, are not less honest men, loyal subjects, and lovers of their country.

To such of this meeting, as heard the worthy Major's lecture, or admired his zeal in behalf of *radical Reform*, it must be truly gratifying to learn, that after enjoying for more than a week, the true Scottish hospitalities and festivities of a Noble Duke's man-

sion on the borders, he is proceeding, with renovated health, hopes and spirits, on his disinterested mission through *Old England*, to his family and friends in London, whence the public may yet be favoured with his constitutional discourse in print.

It is time we advert to the string of resolutions, which, with due deference, will be submitted for amendment, rejection, or adoption, by this meeting, who, I flatter myself, will still have the goodness to hear those preliminary remarks which may be requisite, that no man of common understanding, shall either *misconceive* or *misrepresent* the nature, extent, and probable result of our intended proceedings.

The people of England, generally speaking, know very little of the *radical Reform*, and those of Scotland still less, which has been inculcated by Major Cartwright in various publications, for thirty years past, and is now happily adopted by the respectable members of the *Hampden Club*, and other societies, in different parts of the British Empire.

I have endeavoured to infuse the spirit, express the mind, and embody the grand political maxims of our experienced guide and faithful monitor, into that series of resolutions, which I shall soon have the honour to read before this assembly, some of whom may probably disapprove of their number and length, till the reasons shall be deliberately assigned, for extending them beyond the usual bounds of such declaratory documents.

The *Loyalists* and *Royalists* of this country, as well as in France, are completely at issue in the present awful crisis of national and continental affairs; one party or other must stand or fall for ever, in public estimation, by a fair submissive appeal to the impartial tribunal of their respective peers, at the truly loyal bar of the whole community, to avert, in time, the sanguinary decision which must always be expected from the *ultima ratio regum*, that is now, alas! desolating the finest country in Europe; which Britain herself must have felt, with a vengeance, in the year 1745, had the *Pre-*

tender landed on our shores with a million of foreign mercenaries at his heels, like *Louis the desired*, on his return to the French capital.

We, as *Reformists*, have been so much persecuted, reviled, and traduced, by *Anti-reformists*, that in common justice to ourselves, we are bound to publish our political *Exposé* or *Creed*, and have thus a right to demand a similar *Manifesto* from our adversaries, being the fairest contrast they can make to our avowed principles, even as *radical Reformers*.

The church, in her Confession of Faith, has extended the declarations, professions, or opinions, &c. of her followers, to *thirty-nine articles*; ours are comprised in *thirty*, to be placed immediately on record, that when the great day of reckoning shall arrive, for come it will, and that right soon, it may then be distinctly seen, whether the *Reformists* or *Anti-reformists*, are the genuine friends of their country, laws, and King, according to the *English Constitution*, and the liberal maxims whereon the *Glorious Revolution* was founded, which, from a state of slavery and oppression, redeemed this Nation, and gave them, at least, the means to become the most happy and free people upon earth, had these been subsequently improved as they really deserved.

Some fastidious *Royalist* may demand, why any transposition, from the usual order of arranging the Sovereign's relative situation, with his subjects, can, with propriety, take place? And I shall merely state, in reply, that the *existence* of a country is as much prior to its laws, as a *people* are to their King; this natural position is, therefore, no more derogatory to *Majesty*, as the head of the state, than the precedence which, for a similar reason, the *Law*, in common language, has over the *Gospel*.

Reformists have been but too often shamefully traduced and scouted as owls, bats, toads, serpents, rattlesnakes, reptiles, miscreants, incendiaries or assassins; who, concealing themselves in holes, caves, nests, dens, ditches, and other lurking places, only darted out, from their dark and dirty retreats, when favourable opportunities occur, under specious pretences, for doing mischief

to their country; accusations, all of them false, in the pithy language of an exalted legal character, as *the hell*, whence they originally sprung, the *black recess* of some despicable toad-eater's *malignant heart*.

That bad men may mingle with the very best inclined, there can be no doubt; for sacred history gives one memorable instance of a *Judas*, in so small a company as *twelve* chosen followers of the *Divinity* himself. We trust there can be no *traitor* of that stamp here, unless under the *disguise* of a *hired spy*, and, in that case, he is most welcome to use all his *instrumental talents* against us, and, moreover, to ponder on the *potter's field, en passant*, to those who have employed him.

Such sapient sages have, in all probability, instigated the general *abstraction, suppression, and destruction*, of the numerous hand-bills, circulated and posted for the business before us, in various parts of this good city, now under a *harlequin mask* or *false face*, with *public notices* of a very different complexion.

With the most independent of the newspaper presses, wholly shut against us, and every low engine at work, to counteract all our efforts in favour of *Reform*, we ask, from the *candid* and *ingenuous* mind, no farther proof of the congenial *apprehension* which Major Cartwright's exposure, over all Scotland, of *constitutional truths* and *flagrant abuses* has excited in many venal and grovelling souls.

They really are themselves conscious of being guilty of *those very deeds of darkness*, with which they have hitherto branded all *Reformers*, while, in fact, their enemies alone are the men who now shun the *light of day*, the *force of reason*, and the *beneficial consequences* of *candid inquiry* among *rational beings*.

At present, there is undoubtedly so far *peace* and *plenty* in the *land*, as to prevent every *alarm* on that score, which could otherwise be created by pressing want or urgent distress. When the martial planet of the British Empire is in the zenith of its glory, and the Sun of Victory, over the hills and plains of Waterloo, is

absolutely dazzling our admiring eyes, and astonished senses, with his radiant blaze, can we be said to love *darkness* rather than the *light*, while we assemble under such *brilliant auspices*, merely to beg and pray submissively, that our own *representatives* and *rulers* will be just, or even *generous*, enough to restore, after a patient hearing, our long lost or stolen rights.

Shall such humility, patience, and subordination, for ever be calumniated, as treasonable or seditious by the Lords of the land, though their *Lord* and *Master*, the great God of Heaven and Earth, doth never accuse his suppliant creatures of attempting, with their prayers, to take the kingdom above by storm; on the contrary, they are invited, by *divine precept* itself, to accomplish that object with a *species of holy violence*, in the way of *persevering supplication*; and shall we be always denied a similar right below, by perishing worms like ourselves, without even raising an imploring voice, with impunity, to the hard foot, which unfeelingly levels us with the dust.

Last year, when some of our most respectable citizens *presumed to pray to Parliament*, merely for cheap coals and corn, by a practicable canal, they were denounced, not only in this capital, but, *if report be true*, in the *august assembly* of the *Nation*, by one of the members, who ought to have been better informed, as *demagogues and revolutionary democrats*, though their transactions, as subscribers, to a most useful enterprize, had no more to do with *treason* or *sedition* than *baronets* have with *bag-pipes*, or an *ephemeral Lord* with the scarlet cloak of a speckled *ladylanders*.

This disappointment and defeat, upon that memorable occasion, rather by numerical than logical force, will be more than compensated, should the *New Grand Canal*, projected and patronized by a most patriotic magistracy, ultimately succeed.

In that auspicious event, every *loyal inhabitant* would rather rejoice, than repine at the *infallible sagacity* of the Magistrates, and with heart-felt gratitude, would acknowledge, that the *Union Canal subscribers* were but poor fallible men, like the late Provost of Glasgow.

It is, on the whole, most fortunate for the people of Edinburgh, that they can at last depend on the *speedy execution* of a *Grand Rival Canal*, as a whole *host of powerful individuals*, are bound in *honour, consistency, and justice*, to redeem their *valuable pledge* on this subject, from *their fellow citizens*; who will, no doubt, live in *hopeful expectation* of so great a blessing, and consequently never can die in *despair of cheap coals*, and many other commodities.

I flatter myself, that this audience will pardon the long digression just made, when they recollect, that not long ago I was the *solitary victim*, to that memorable dispute, during which my *resolutions* and proceedings in favour of the *Union Canal* were to have been burnt by the *hands of the common hangman*, myself *expelled as a pest*, from the immaculate worshipful Merchants Company; among whose impartial records, they were never officially enrolled, being denounced and expunged as too *playful and profane* for such pure *Records of Truth, Loyalty, and sound doctrines*. I asserted nothing of which, as an honest man, or a true and *loyal* subject of a *limited Monarchy*, I am, to this day either ashamed or afraid, and I shall, on that score, continue to treat, estimate, and defy all my avowed and *anonymous* enemies, according to their several deserts.

The part which I have taken in the Cause of *Radical Reform*, upon full conviction from my late venerable guest's valuable publications, and logic, shall be defended and maintained, with the same unbending spirit, which supported me through my Union Canal ordeal, because I never shall renounce the Truth, merely from having learnt it from an abler man than myself, as I must honestly confess, that Major Cartwright alone converted me from being an *expedient*—to become a *Constitutional Reformer*.

Like all *proselytes*, I feel so inspired with the *spirit of conversion*, that I now mean to make, with due submission, a fair trial upon your *minds*, which I trust will be as open to *conviction*, as my own, while you attend to our proposed *Exposé* or *Political Creed*; consisting, as was formerly observed, of *thirty distinct articles*. These may be termed *Convictions, Opinions, Admissions, Con-*

sessions, Declarations, Propositions, or Resolutions, &c. &c. as particular circumstances shall at any time require, in our own defence, such a sweeping and Comprehensive Nomenclature.

May I, at the close of this Address, so far anticipate the end of our very last resolution, (which asserts—So long as one boasted national air shall remind them and every Freeman, that “Britons never shall be Slaves,”) as to transport you to the first of the series on the back of my own *Constitutional Pegasus*, thus:—

WHILE her brave *Navy* rules *Britannia's* waves,
What power on *Earth* shall make her *Freemen* slaves?
Yes, *Queen of Isles!* to thee was *Freedom* given;
A Gem divine, the gracious *Gift of Heaven*.
Which,—like the *Heroes*, who with *Wallace* bled,
Thy *Sons* shall wear—or court a gory bed.
For what is *Life*, when *Freedom* flies away,
But the dark *Meteor* of a *Gloomy Day*.
On—*Caledonia!* crave *Reform*, and see
Each wrong redressed, and every *Briton Free*.
That *England's* *Egis* * on each *Slave* may frown,
The *People's* Shield, best *Guardian* of a *Crown*.
Let *Cœur de Lion*, with thy *Unicorn*,
From *Ireland's* *Harp*, aloft in air while borne,
Waft this *Eolian Solo* from the *Three*,
“Dear as *their lives*, our *Sons* prize *Liberty*.”
Hark!—*Union Pipes* resound from shore to shore;
Return our long lost *Rights*, we ask no more,
To make our hills with cheerful echoes ring,
Long live the *Prince*, a *British Patriot King*.
Then *Peace* and *Plenty*, through each sea-girt *Isle*,
On every *Freeman's* face again shall smile.
To hail great *George's* glory as their own,
While reigning in *their hearts*, that princely throne,

* *Minerva's* *Gorgon* shield, which she received from *Jupiter*, and *Cartwright's* significant *Type* of a legal *National Militia*, according to the *Constitution*.

Firm as the *Rock*, which winds and waves defies,
 * *Britannia's King* would prove, *he* never dies.
 See! Peers for *worth*, much more than *birth* renowned,
Majestic spire! with regal honours crowned.
 From a brave *People's* massy basis rise,
 Colossus-like, *their May-pole* to the skies,
 Round which, in *chorus*, every loyal throng,
 Might sing with glee—The *Prince* can do no *wrong*.
 While our just *Rights* are *sacred* in *his* eye,
 These emerald *Isles*—may the whole world defy.
King, Nobles, Freemen, resting on *their Arms*,
 All sound at home; abroad no *false* alarms.
 Beneath their vine, their olive, and fig-tree,
 Each might enjoy his cup of Liberty:
 And free from fear could thus *Columbia* hail,
 "Spread, gallant *Maid!* thy canvas to the gale."
 Let *Freedom*, commerce, arts, and *friendship*, hence
 Become our *kindred* nations' best defence.
 This a bold *Kingdom*, free as ocean's wave;
 That a *Republic*, bravest of the brave.
 Both justly proud of their constituent frame,
 And each as deathless as their endless fame,
 Then shall *Columbia* with *Britannia* run,
 A matchless *Race*, and glorious as the Sun.
 When every honest heart shall *war* abhor;
 Then mankind will on earth *fair Peace* adore,
 Till Planets cease to roll—and Time shall be no more.

* In consequence of the advertisement which appeared in the Caledonian Mercury, with some officious or official observations upon it, both annexed here, the above *Jeu d'Esprit*, versus *Esprit de Corps*, appeared in the Edinburgh Star, under the following Title:

The TRUE † BALM OF GILEAD, or an Infallible Nostrum for the Last Gasps of Reform, from the Arsenic and Ratsbane Prescriptions of a Law and a Devil. By Apollo, with Three Strings to his Harp; or his Son Esculapius on Two Stills.
 "My bane and antidote are both before me." CATO.

† A London Quack happening to offend a Printer's Young Nic there, had his next and last puff of *Fragrant Bear's Grease* completely spoiled, by the fundamental error of *l* being inserted for *r*: Had any *Old Nic* of the Press here, in a *Reforming* fury, substituted *l* for *n*, in one of the doses above, he might have made a typographical stumble on a pretty notorious political truth, on this side of the Tweed.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM ON CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES.

In the press, and speedily will be published, the Whole Proceedings of the Meeting assembled for that purpose on Tuesday 3d inst. at the Fives Court, or Cock Pit, Rose-Street. The most independent Print in town having, from prudential apprehension of the displeasure of the Law Officers here, refused insertion of the Resolutions, &c. they will appear as a Pamphlet, comprising also some obvious Reflections on Suspended Canals, and sundry other important objects, connected with the permanent welfare of the Free Subjects and Citizens of this Metropolis and Kingdom.

N. B.—The Publication will be sold by all the Booksellers in Town and Country.

The Petitions for Parliamentary Reform remain now for Signature at Drummond Street, No. 10. Other places will be opened immediately for Subscriptions, of which the earliest intimation will be given by hand bills.

On Tuesday, a meeting of inhabitants, called by public advertisement, was held in the Fives Court, Rose-Street, to consider of a petition for a reform in the Commons House of Parliament. The people present were between two and three hundred. The chair was taken by Dr. Borthwick Gilchrist, who addressed the meeting at considerable length, and concluded by proposing a series of resolutions, which were seconded by Captain Johnston, in a short speech, and carried by a shew of hands. A petition to Parliament was afterwards read and agreed to; and after nominating a Committee to procure signatures, and further the petition to its destination, the meeting dispersed.

By an advertisement in the first page, our readers will perceive, that a detailed account of this meeting is at present in the press; and they will also observe, that it is stated that the most independent print in town has refused insertion from prudential reasons.

As the print alluded to is the Caledonian Mercury, we think it right to mention, that we declined to insert the papers in the state in which they were handed to us, as they appeared to contain libellous, and consequently actionable matter.

RESOLUTIONS.

RESOLVED,

I.—THAT as every reasonable *Creature* has a devotional duty to perform, and may thereby hope to meet a gracious ear, when he prays for various blessings, at the hands of his *Almighty Creator*, no true Christian can consistently deny to a *Constituent* body, a

similar obligation and privilege to petition for a legitimate boon, from its own *Representatives*, as the third *Estate* of one omnipotent Parliament.

II.—That all unnecessary obstructions to the sacred right of preparing and presenting *Petitions* to the *King*, *Peers*, or *House of Commons*, wherever they occur, rather betray a wish to stifle the voice of *Truth*, than evince the desire of calmly hearing reasons for granting the people's just rights, or for redressing those wrongs which often oblige them to complain with too *much cause*, and hitherto with so *little effect* in Parliament.

III.—That no Nation can, in any proper sense of the word, be called free, when individual happiness, property, liberty and life, are not protected by known laws, emanating from, founded upon, and modified by the *general will* of the people expressed either personally, or by *commensurate Representation*.

IV.—That wherever *Representation* is not co-extensive with *Taxation*, personal property, and every other fruit of real liberty, are too much exposed to the mercy of Landholders, or *mere Superiors*, who simply, as *qualified Electors*, have hardly any common interest or fellow-feeling with their *unrepresented* Countrymen; consequently, these last are so far mere vassals or slaves, with scarcely one enviable stake left them to defend in their native land.

V.—That, from a firm conviction of *annual Parliaments*, and a *general elective franchise*, being the sacred *birthrights* of Englishmen, we believe the late Duke of Richmond, in concert, thirty years ago, with the *immortal Reformer*, William Pitt, declared, in print, that every *individual Briton*, but the *Prince*, the *Peer*, and the *Pauper*, possessed an inherent right, to vote at annual elections for his *Parliamentary Representative*. Those *radical principles* admit of *no relaxation or innovation whatever*, because these

aberrations render the *sheet anchor* of corruption in Parliament still more *immoveable*, by *implying* the *unconstitutional extension* of its duration to *any given period*. Under this *conviction*, every sound heart and clean hand should rally round the national *Capstan*, to pray that the good ship *Constitution of Old England*, may be safely removed by a *long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether*, to her *ancient moorings*, lest she founder at anchor in *rotten borough bay*, or get foully adrift amidst the war of elements, the crash of falling liberty, and the wreck of surrounding nations, while the planet-struck crew seem afraid to present either a *round robin*, or a more *manly petition* to secure even *their own salvation*, from the yawning gulph of perdition.

VI.—That we consider the *sacred privilege of annual and popular elections* of Members of Parliament, *was, or ought to have been*, conceded, with other valuable rights, to the *Scottish Nation*, at its Union with England, and therefore we, the *Loyal Inhabitants* of the *Scottish Metropolis*, in common with all our fellow subjects, possess, for ourselves and posterity, as *freemen, a hereditary claim*, for the restoration of the *English Constitution*, to its *original purity*, which can be effected by no other process than, what is generally denominated, *radical Reform*.

VII.—That of *Three Millions* which compose the *population* of Scotland, the whole number who possess the *elective franchise*, does not exceed *Ten Thousand*, leaving *Two Millions and Nine Hundred Thousand Free souls*, as little qualified as the most *abject slaves* of the *Grand Turk* or the *Great Mogul*, by *any token* which can shield them *effectually*, from the intolerable lash and imposition of incessant collections, *royal subscriptions*, compulsive contributions, fiscal extortions, *mortuary duties*, grinding exactions, enormous fees and legal expences, *flagrant abuses*, Corn Bills, and various other *inquisitorial Taxes*: *Burdens* alone galling enough to *inspire* even the *Spanish mules*, the most *patient asses*, of any country, to

make *persevering* and *audible appeals* to the *self-interest* of their imperious Masters, before their backs are irrecoverably broken, during the progress of a long journey.

VIII.—That the *Patrons, Projectors, Admirers, and Friends* of *Saving Banks*, are bound in honour and justice, to *Petition Parliament*, for extending the *elective suffrage* to every class in Society, that *all hands* may secure the *adequate protection* of their *own* accumulating deposits. This object can only be obtained, *through the medium of direct Representation*, before the *necessities* of the *State*, at no distant period, may require *Ten per cent.* upon *Capital*, besides the *existing Tax* on income, which then combined, would totally exhaust one *Hundred Pounds* in *five* years, that the *brooding Economist* had probably saved by long fasting and the most penurious expenditure in *fifty*; little dreaming, good easy man, the whole time, that his own goose egg, might ultimately have the honour of being hatched as a goldfinch, by an urban cuckoo, a royal swan, or a king's fisher.

IX.—That we may boldly retort the reproach of *Innovation* upon *Jacobite Royalists*, and their favourite *Borough Mongers*, who have dared to justify the *treasonable* practices of *seat selling*, because the frequent commission of such crimes, against the *popular* branch of the State, was as *notorious as the sun at noon day*, in that very *House of Commons*, where the *Speaker* declared, that such *unprincipled Innovators* on the *Constitution*, would have been *indignantly spurned* by our ancestors, yet, *mirabile dictu!* these very *suspicious characters* stand high in office, favour, fortune, and power, at this day.

X.—That since the ascendancy of the *Borough Faction*, and the *increased duration* of Parliaments, the national debt, a standing army, and foreign mercenaries, have all been augmenting in that *Geometrical ratio*, which has lately alarmed *Political Economists*, on

applying the same scale to the progressive population of free and pacific states; not perhaps being aware, that the *exterminating wars*, which have desolated the world for half a century, and may continue for an age or two longer, are alone the most *radical* cures for a *disorder*, infinitely more alarming than the king's evil; the *monstrum horrendum!* of human fecundity.

XI.—That although Burke justly complained, *many years ago*, of the influence of the Crown being so irresistible, as to demand *immediate* reduction, it has nevertheless acquired since, a *tenfold* force from the *corrupt Borough faction*, and other *innumerable* sources, which, he who runs may read, in every page of our domestic history, connected with those *appaling* events on the *Continent*, which *ultimately* can have no other tendency than to *confirm* the *passive* obedience of the people, and the *irresistibly* *divine rights* of their Kings *for ever*, unless arrested *speedily* by the interposing Providence of an *omnipotent* arm.

XII.—That *ministerial responsibility* has now become a perfect *mockery*, since indemnity for *any crime* must be readily obtained, from such *subservient* majorities in Parliament, as lately passed their *blood-stained* Corn Bill, *in spite* of innumerable petitions from their own *constituents*; thus leaving *them* no other *alternative* than *mute submission*, to that *logic*, which *absolute Monarchs*, as they can do *no wrong*, have a *right* to employ, for convincing each other, or their own *vassals*, that *Might* in all such *sylogisms*, is the *major* proposition, and ought to be victorious.

XIII.—That a Government, *however composed*, which, without *any constitutional* controul, wields the sword of a great and victorious nation, is not less the *absolute master* of the people's property, liberties, and lives, than the *daring robber*, when he, *in the faith* of escaping *with impunity*, boldly demands money from peaceable subjects, with a pistol at their breasts, on the *King's highway*,

in defiance of Law, Justice, and Death, in this world, and of the more awful responsibility to the *Great Judge* of all men, in that which is to come.

XIV.—That an imperial and regal conspiracy of *absolute Monarchs* against the liberties of their several subjects, is a *dangerous phenomenon* in the modern history of Europe, where not one of the *ancient Republics* still rears its *solitary head* on the *Continent*, as the *expiring image* of national freedom: A blank so expressive of itself; can prove no very promising sign for us *Islanders*, who still fondly cling to a *shadow* while the substance, even among ourselves, is visibly consuming in so *deep a decline*, as to exhibit nothing to us now, but a *faint hope* of recovery.

XV.—That on a recent memorable occasion, though a *Reverend Preacher* of the *Gospel of peace*, took the opportunity of *hallowing* a large standing army, as the only *palladium* of national liberty and independence, we frankly declare our opinion to be the *very reverse*, and defy him to prove the soundness or *consistency* of his *belligerent* doctrines, by a reference to the history of any *free people* in the world, or to an applicable text in those scriptures of *truth*, that proclaim *good will* on earth, to all *man-kind*. These divine volumes indeed breathe *benevolent sentiments*, which an orator should, with the becoming *charity* of a true *believing Priest*, both *practise* and preach among his fellow citizens; that they may thence learn to *prize* the magnanimous *example* of forgiving, especially a *fallen enemy*, above the fruitless *precept*, which merely inculcates such a *rare virtue*, or the vile mercenary spirit, that puts *both* at defiance, by preferring, like *Cardinal Woolsey*, the *fleeting favour* of an *earthly prince*, to the saving *grace* of the *King of kings*.

XVI.—That however high the martial prowess, and military glory of a *regular army*, may deservedly exalt the *Prince, Government,*

and *Officers* of a *militant* state or *Church*, these alone can *never consolidate* the religious freedom, real independence, commercial prosperity, or *genuine liberties* of a free people, whose *invincible Navy* is as much the *Natural* bulwark of an *Island*, against every *foe from abroad*, as a *National Militia* will prove its only *safeguard* at home, against those *obsequious friends*, who, under the *holy* mask of *exclusive Loyalty*, are preying, with impunity, on the *vital liberties* of their Country.

XVII. That though the *bright* deeds of many *brave*, able and *upright* Britons, *shine clearly* through their *Honours*, *nobly* won; the *free* spirit and *generous* character of the British Nation seems *eclipsed*, *benighted* and *debased*, by innumerable crosses, *titles*, and badges of a *different hue*, while the splendid processions, the musical festivals, the gay feasts, the sprightly dances, and the *triumphant songs*, of the *times*, rather *betray* the hectic *flush* of a wasting *consumption*, than that natural *glow* of health and content which beams, with benignant serenity, on the faces of a *pious* and *thriving* people.

XVIII.—That the *massacre* of French Protestants, the *execution* and *burnings* of Spanish *Patriots*, the resurrection of the *Inquisition*, and its worthy associates the *Jesuits*, the suppression of *free* Masons, and *free* Schools, the *Royal liveries* of the *People's representatives* in France, and the shameful transfer of *Christian souls* by millions, like so many countless *droves* of *black sheep* on the Continent, from one *despot* to another, all *portend* an endless and *sanguinary* contest between *Tyrants* and *Freemen*, for the *extinction* or *preservation* of many religious and civil *lights*, which, during the last four centuries, have been gradually *dawning* over Europe, from those ages of night and darkness, to that perfect *day*, which every sincere *Christian* should hope will be *eternal*.

XIX.—That seeing the abolition of the *Slave-trade* has, after a *persevering* struggle, become almost universal *abroad*, surely equal

pains will soon be taken to eradicate every degrading *vestige of slavery at home*; for he must be little better than a mere vassal who has neither a *personal* nor representative voice, in the intermediate means for securing *self-preservation* or *defence*, as the manly inhabitant of a *free* Country; who, disregarding alike a title, or a Coach, can still afford to *keep a good conscience*, and thence, will both feel for the *Christian Captives* with our *pensioned ally* at *Algiers*, and for all those who mourn in bondage, at a much shorter distance, from *our own doors*, than the Coast of Guinea or *Negroeland*.

XX.—That some of the most despotic Monarchs on the Continent, have so far wisely followed *the march of the human mind*, as to grant their subjects, *unasked*, an essential *Reform*, in their several Governments, we therefore should not *despair* of the *Renovation* required in ours, provided we continue as *Christian neighbours*, to ask and *pray* in brotherly harmony and *concert*, for a *restoration* of every *white man's rights*, in this kingdom, with the *unanimity*, confidence, and zeal, of those numerous *Petitioners*, who happily succeeded in abolishing the *Black man's wrongs*, though, as a *Native of Africa*, a long way without the pale both of our *national Church* and territory.

XXI.—That a late *objection* to *printed* Forms of *Petitions* by the *House of Commons*, from their *own constituents*, is most *unjust* and *preposterous*; 1st, Because both the *Superior Estates* in Parliament, very *graciously* receive *such* *Petitions*, provided only, that *each* *Petitioner* subscribes his *own name*; and 2dly, Because almost every important written document which the Honourable House *intends to consider*, is ordered to be *printed*, that each member may thus *easily read* and understand it, previous to any *final* discussion or vote on the subject.

XXII.—That, in *former* appeals for a *Reform* of the Commons

house of Parliament, the *Petitions* not only being *few* in number, but *discordant* in claims, were, consequently, rejected, with *this understanding, however*, that *numerous, consistent, reiterated Petitions*, whenever presented, would command immediate attention and *due respect* from the Representatives, in that Honourable House, to the *public voice*, thus distinctly proclaimed by their Constituents, *in favour of Parliamentary Reform*.

XXIII.—That we can discover nothing *more alarming* in the *revival* of the *elective franchise* than, in municipal and other *annual* elections, all over the Kingdom, provided wise systematic steps are previously taken to dispatch the whole process in one or two days; at all events, the bare apprehension of an evil, is no just reason for choosing a greater, by *robbing a freeman of his birth-right*, for *six* years out of *seven*, and thereby enabling Candidates to corrupt and deceive the people, more readily than could be effected, by *more frequent* appeals to their consciences: *Popular Electors* in the discharge of a *solemn duty*, not less honourable to themselves as *Freemen*, than necessary for the *salvation* of their beloved Country, would be ashamed of *betraying* a trust confided to them, which must then indeed interest every *heart and hand* in the defence of *national liberty* against all her avowed or *hidden* foes, *within* or without this *last asylum* of that blessing in Europe.

XXIV.—That we confidently hope, the *Imperial Parliament* will no longer turn a deaf ear to the *praying* subjects of the *United Empire*, for restoration of rights and redress of wrongs; when they submissively present *no other offensive weapons*, than *Petitions after Petitions*, for common justice, from their own representatives. Such a condescension can produce no danger in these immortal *days of glory*, triumph, and renown, while the *Kings rampant arms*, with the *subsidized hosts* of all Europe, are levelling a *coup de grace* at prostrate France, and *nailing* her fallen Emperor to an *Atlantic Rock*; more especially if the passing scenes are fairly contrasted with the British Parliament's

numerous and *seasonable* concessions to Ireland, as *an armed nation*, when the Lion of England was ingloriously *struggling* in the toils of a *hopeless warfare* with her American colonies.

XXV.—That the *public voice*, duly proclaimed in all *free states*, or *limited monarchies*, must be *irresistable*; to *this alone* may be attributed, successive acts of justice to injured Ireland, our first peace with America, a repeal of the Orders of Council, of several odious taxes, the *limitation* of military punishments, the *emancipation* of Scottish Colliers, the *abolition* of the African slave-trade, the *abortion* of Lord Sidmouth's intended Dissenter's Bill, and many other *oppressive legislative measures*, too tedious to mention. We will not, therefore, despair of the opposition to *Radical Reform* also, yet yielding, when properly explained and understood, to the same *popular feelings*, incessantly conveyed, by *Constitutional Channels*, to Parliament, since *similar causes*, sooner or later, must produce *similar effects*, there and every where else.

XXVI.—That, as the British *Nation*, not many years after the *restoration* of the Stuarts, *invited* William the Third, though a *Dutchman*, by the *Glorious Revolution*, to sway the sceptre of these realms, whence the *despotic* James had been *legally expelled*; we consign the *exploded doctrines* of divine right, passive obedience, and non-resistance, to the admiration of *Jacobite Royalists*, as tenets *renounced* by the progenitors of *all the Loyal* subjects of the present *reigning* family, who succeeded to the Crown by no other claim than the *Laws of the land*, which cannot *revive those discarded principles*, without the *treasonable* preference of a *proscribed race*, to the *legitimate* dynasty, in the Royal Line of Brunswick. Professing *such sentiments*, and having no vote whatever for a Parliamentary Representative, we here *solemnly protest*, against submitting any longer, in *criminal silence*, to innumerable, iniquitous, and *disgusting Taxes*, to furnish the means for replacing and supporting the *long-rejected* Sovereign of France, with *three hun-*

dred thousand foreign bayonets, on a throne against the general will of the French people; because we never can forget, that many a brave Caledonian lost his head on the scaffold, for such fruitless attempts to restore a Scottish Prince, under similar circumstances, to the forfeited regality of his Ancestors. Nor will any man, who is not more afraid of his King than his God, deny, that had Charles Stuart been as effectually assisted by France, as the Bourbons have been by England's blood and treasure, loyalty and treason would have been convertible terms, and we must long ago have lost both the substance and shadow of Liberty.

XXVII.—That a Committee be immediately appointed for drawing up a proper Petition to Parliament, and giving due effect to all the resolutions and proceedings of the present company, by publication in the Newspapers, corresponding with other peaceable petitioners, and by every legal measure, which a majority of the Committee may adopt, for accelerating the accomplishment of Radical Reform upon the *Constitutional principles* of the Circular from the *Hampden Club*, and of similar associations in London. Such laudable efforts must doubtless soon be seconded by every *Loyal Catholic*, who prefers this *fair expedient*, for ample redress, to a vain reliance on the *promised* fruits of the *Union*, or to those invectives against Government, or individuals, which may retard, but seldom can accelerate the progress of justice.

XXVIII.—That upon deliberately considering the reasoning, in the whole of our Resolutions, for the *recovery* of our just rights for the *salvation* of our Country, from the ruinous effects of an *overwhelming* debt, for the *preservation* of all our liberties from *despotic power*, for the *defence* of our properties from the fangs of the *Borough Faction*, and for complete religious *toleration*, including *Catholic emancipation on conciliatory principles*, we can perceive no other plan so effectual as the *prompt adoption* of radical Reform by Parliament, agreeably to their own solemn declarations, at *that Constitutional prayer of the great body of the people,*

which will probably reach their ears, during the course of the ensuing session, by the spirited exertions of many most respectable members of different societies, meetings, and clubs, associated for that *salutary purpose*, to all of whom, as the *Loyal subjects of the King and Laws*, our cordial thanks and approbation are most justly due.

XXIX.—That Major Cartwright, the venerable *Advocate of Constitutional liberty*, is fully entitled to the applause and gratitude of all his *independent Countrymen*, for the shining light, his valuable writings, and patient labours have shed, during *Thirty years*, on this *vital subject*; whence at least *one thousand uniform Petitions*, in support of radical Reform, are confidently expected soon from all quarters of the United Empire: A *consummation* devoutly to be wished from *Scotland* also, in consequence of the Major's various and important *communications*, and late luminous *discourse* on the *English Constitution*, in this Country and City, for all of which he justly merits the respectful thanks of the present meeting, through our Chairman, who is authorised to communicate the same to Major Cartwright accordingly.

XXX.—That, concluding nearly in the manly expressions of our *Veteran Reformist*, we believe, when Government, by the language of *numerous* and *Consistent Petitions*, shall find, that the people accurately *understand the Constitution*, and that they demand *justice*, and claim a *right*, without which they and their posterity, must be for ever in a condition of *absolute slavery*, with its unbounded and *merciless taxation*, at the will of *Usurpers*; the *Ministers* will not dare, much longer to tell the people, in no unequivocal terms, that, *They and their posterity shall be slaves!* Even were any ardent Royalists, Hypocrites, or Sycophants, to be found in the *United Empire*, *degenerate* enough to pray for so *permanent and degrading a blessing*, from unconstitutional *Borough Mongers*, or *Seat Setters* in Parliament; so long as one boasted *national air* shall remind them, and every *Freeman*, that "*Britons never shall be slaves.*"

On the Chairman resuming his seat, Captain JOHNSTON rose and appealed to the Meeting in nearly the following words:

GENTLEMEN,

YOU have now heard with the *greatest attention*, and no small share of applause, the impressive preliminary discourse, and the long, but comprehensive series of *Resolutions* from the Chair, as a frank declaration of our political Creed; a Confession of Faith, which none of our ancestors, at the *Glorious Revolution* of 1688, could with consistency have disavowed, and for which, the meanest among them would not have been called to any extraordinary account, far less to legal punishment. On the contrary, the *Jacobites* of that day, would have had more real cause from embracing anti-constitutional sentiments, to feel for the head on their shoulders, than we the *loyal subjects* of the *legitimate Prince*, can have now to fear, either about our necks or Botany Bay.

Few of you, Gentlemen, can be ignorant of the persecution, proscription, calumny, and odium, to which I, in this City, for a long period of years, have been most unjustly exposed; yet solitary, worthless, sad and forsaken, as many in this place certainly suppose me to be, thank God, I have never lost the cheering company, nor the reviving consolation of an upright heart and a clear conscience. With such inestimable associates, I shall ever defy the mean pusillanimity of some, or the vain malignity of others, who have condemned me unheard, for an outcast from society, or even as a *Black Nebbed Sheep*, to any Covintry they think I have deserved, as the merited seclusion for ever, from all the good company in this place, whom I have too much reason either to pity or despise. So far am I from preferring the false show, hollow routs, unmeaning noise, and gilded servility of venal throngs, to the gloom of the wilderness, or the solitude of the desert, that I would, as an honest man, much rather be banished to Inchkeith for life, merely to vegetate there, a rational free agent, upon raw muscles and crabs, than ascend a blood-stained throne like Louis the desired; nor even to please the *holy*

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Inquisition, would I stoop to embroider a veil for the blessed Virgin as the *beloved Ferdinand* has lately done, no doubt to secure the most honourable order of the *Garter* from our *gracious Prince*, which every one here will allow, was more richly deserved, as a token of exalted respect, from the hands of his own *loving subjects*. But Gentlemen, the eventful scenes that are shifting before us, have made me wander involuntarily from the subject—the proposed *Exposé* of our real sentiments, even as *radical Reformers*.

If you feel a conviction, that the doctrines avowed by our worthy Chairman, and with respectful deference submitted to your judgment, can stand the test of *Constitutional scrutiny*, when published in the face of day, and acknowledged in all the Newspapers, it would save much time, were you at once to adopt and sanction the whole string of Resolutions, as your own.

Should there be, however, any individual here present, who dissents from this proposition, and may propose some amendment to one or all of the series; I am convinced that the Chairman, though already much exhausted with his laudable exertions in our cause, will again most cheerfully read all the Resolutions, one by one, that you may deliberately amend, or approve, *seriatim*, of the whole.

Permit me very earnestly to recommend the most *loyal* submission, *Christian* patience, but *manly perseverance* on every occasion, and in all our efforts *to obtain Reform*; which though this may not happen in five or even ten years, it must sooner or later take place, by the persevering, peaceable conduct, that I wish to inculcate. The very best intentions, for procuring the accomplishment of the Constitutional object now under discussion, might, from a different demeanour, be wholly counteracted, by the base machinations of *slavish Jackalls*, prowling in every direction, to frustrate the *generous* efforts of *Freemen*, in behalf of their devoted country. No man who reflects for one moment, can too highly prize the blessing of liberty, and every human being is bound to cherish it as one of *God's best gifts* to mankind, being in *this country* at least, a sort of

heir loom, on the soil, which never should be relinquished but with our lives. Alas! this precious cup of freedom has not those fascinating charms for many people, which it has ever displayed to me, but often, when I thought it most within my grasp, it has been dashed with the greatest violence from my lips, though almost in close contact with them, as the best of cordials to a persecuted Englishman in a foreign land. When I retrace those days of darkness and alarm, in this very town where I was, with many other sufferers, visited by the heavy hand of power, it recalls to my mind, with a sigh, an advice then given, which I unfortunately despised. During the storm of persecution, that the English *acquitted felons*, as they were unjustly termed, escaped from, unhurt in London, some of the victims to *severer laws* here, asked the friendly counsel of the celebrated Horne Tooke as to the steps they should take in their approaching trials. His answer was equally significant and laconic, and had some of us taken the hint, we might indeed have been Freeman and independent this day in America, the last remaining retreat of stubborn sinners against the divinity of Kings. The counsel to which I alluded, was couched in these very words, "Leave Scotland as soon as you can, and "pity all those poor devils who cannot follow your example!"

In such a *Lion's den*, we who have neither the divine shield of a David, nor the heavenly amulet of a Daniel, no, not even, it would appear, the Magna Charta of an Englishman, need not wonder at the want of rank, wealth, estimation and character in the world's selfish use of these words, in our meeting, compared with the *number* of good, honest men here, who naturally wish to extricate themselves from the infernal abodes of intolerable taxation, but cannot prevail on their Christian Neighbours, in purgatory only, to lend one helping hand for common salvation. This Political half-way-house is crammed with the apprehensive, and the hopeful, between the extremes of *neglect*, *penury*, *prison*, or *banishment* on the one hand, and *honours*, *places*, *custom*, or *pension*, on the other, which last may thence be named a terrestrial Paradise,

or the *Flysian fields* at least. Thus the great majority of certain classes, is, no doubt, aspiring to those rich, delicious abodes, while innumerable more timid friends are still alarmed at tumbling irrecoverably, even from their present posture, however irksome, into that great bottomless pit, which threatens now to burn with fiscal fury for ever.

As submissive sheep, it certainly becomes us, my fellow subjects, to stand dumb before our privileged Shearers, as long as they content themselves with our fleece alone, but when we perceive Inquisitorial hosts of inhuman butchers, proceeding to flay us fairly or foully alive, is it in human nature then also to continue speechless as stocks or stones?

On our journey through life, we too often discover droves of horned cattle, and flocks of the smaller breed, like ourselves, content to part with, not only the wool on their backs, but their very skins, without a murmur, either from the promised ermine of some well-feathered official nest, in exchange for the slough of liberty, or from the terror of being exposed naked and forlorn to the pitiless pelting of the wintry storm: A fearful alternative, but one which despotism invariably invokes upon the head of every opponent, which presumes to think, act, or speak as an honest man's, who thus is often forced reluctantly to confess, in the teeth of an old proverb, that, "Servile submission is the way to thrive."

Still I insist, that we have a right at least to beat a parley, by Petitions to our Representative Pastors, though the Borough Mongers should in the meantime let loose their spaniels and blood-hounds upon us, or afterwards in the armour of wolves clothing, even rather cynically growl at the bleating importunities of the whole united flock in the empire.

It is often most ungenerously alleged, that because few men of fortune, rank, learning or character, come forward as active Reformers, the number of those who really wish for radical Reform, is too insignificant to merit the name of a majority in the nation, or the smallest consideration, as such, in Parliament. The fact is, howe-

ver, the very reverse, and were a fair experiment made, even under all the unpropitious circumstances of legions, hosts, and myriads at present dependent upon Government favour, both in civil and military employments, three-fourths of the nation would cheerfully join in Petitions like ours, without any other hesitation, but what the terror of giving offence to great men, naturally inspires in a country like Scotland, where the feudal system has left, to this day, very legible impressions against every thing in the shape of emancipation from vassalage and reformation of its abuses. Let the House of Commons only propose to *entertain the subject of renovating the Constitution*, provided this be found not contrary to the general wishes of the people, and should numerous Petitions against their doing so, really demand the procrastination, suspension, or immediate rejection of such an experiment, let the nation, in God's name, through such a degrading voice, by all means follow its servile propensities, as a swinish multitude indeed, to wallow unpitied in the mire of venal slavery for ever.

Until both Parliament and the people be fairly tried by this test, it is equally absurd and unjust to assert, that the Nation perceptibly expresses no universal desire to be free, and therefore all steps to that desirable end are either unnecessary or premature.

At my time of life, there is little left for me either to hope or to fear from any alteration of the present system of national polity; but laying aside the prostituted epithet of *patriotism*, (which stinks in every upright man's mouth while pronouncing it) I merely may be permitted to feel for my children's children, so far as to hand down to them, unimpaired, if possible, all the blessings of the English Constitution. As an Englishman of the old school, I prefer a manly tone in the demand of a right, to the abject solicitation of a helpless vassal to his imperious lord, for an indulgence or a favour; because in the one case justice is obligatory, while grace is optional in the other. On this principle a creditor *claims* his debt or due, while the debtor must in return often merely *supplicate for mercy*; we therefore are justified in presenting ourselves at the bar of the

House of Commons, as *claimants* before a court of Judicature, whose doors never can be long shut against their constituents, while any traces of the Constitution are visible in its formation.

Before I sit down, permit me to propose for adoption the form of a manly Petition, which has been generally circulated by the Hampden Club, and which the Chairman will be so good as to read slowly over, and you can afterwards amend, adopt, or reject, whatever portions of it that may seem best to the Meeting, upon duly weighing the whole of its tenour and tendency, respecting the grand object of Parliamentary Reform, upon Constitutional principles. One word more: It is now your duty, Gentlemen, to nominate, Committee of yourselves to assist the Chairman in the arduous task he has to fulfil, and I doubt not of their doing so with that energy and fidelity which best becomes Loyal Reformers.

The Petition being read, paragraph by paragraph, and then put to the vote, it was unanimously carried in the affirmative, with a thunder of applause, and the Chairman was consequently authorised to sign and publish the whole Resolutions and proceedings, in the name of the meeting, for their political creed, as well as his own.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED,

THE Petition of the Undersigned, Inhabitants of Edinburgh,

SHEWETH,

That your Petitioners have a full and immoveable conviction, a conviction which they believe to be universal throughout the Kingdom, that your Honourable House doth not, in any constitutional or rational sense, represent the nation.

That when the People have ceased to be represented, the Constitution is subverted:

That Taxation without Representation is a state of Slavery:

That war, as a cause of excessive taxes, being the Harvest of those who live by Corruption, the cause and character of the war which commenced in 1793, your Petitioners now conceive to be, by the enlightened part of the community, well understood.

That as the tremendous tempest of war is not to be stayed at the bidding of those in whose mad and wicked counsels it had its origin, so it is probable, that the Contrivers of the late war did not intend the magnitude and duration, it attained; which magnitude and duration, by the portentous calamities now found in their train, are fast opening the eyes of a deluded nation to the evil deeds of its authors:

That now these wicked rulers, themselves, if not infatuated, must know, that either that usurpation which has divested the People of their Representation must be for ever put down; or the liberty of Britain must perish, and the security of property be annihilated.

That there is no property in that which any person or persons, any power or authority, can take from the people without their consent.

That the scourging of a Taxation without Representation is arrived at a severity too harrassing and vexatious, too intolerable and degrading, to be longer endured without being unceasingly protested against, and as unceasingly resisted by all possible means warranted by the Constitution, until redress be obtained.

That in such a condition of their Country, your Petitioners are shocked to behold contending factions, alike guilty of their Country's wrongs, alike forgetful of her Rights, mocking the public patience with repeated, protracted, and disgusting debates, on questions of refinement in the complicated and abstruse science of Taxation; as if in such refinements, and not in a reformed Representa-

tion; as if in a consolidated corruption, and not in a renovated Constitution, relief were to be found.

That in the discussions which they have witnessed, your Petitioners see nought but what hath a direct tendency to place the British People in a situation, in which the unrelenting lash of unconstitutional taxation may, in all time to come, be laid on to the utmost extent of human endurance:

That instead of such a course, your Petitioners hold it to be selfevident, that there are not any human means of redressing the People's wrongs, or composing their distracted minds; or of preventing the subversion of Liberty and the Establishment of Despotism; unless by calling the collective wisdom and virtue of the Community into Council, by the election of a free Parliament:

Wherefore, considering, that through the usurpation of a Borough Faction and other causes, the People have been put even out of a condition to consent to Taxes; and considering also, that until their sacred Rights of Election shall be restored, no free Parliament can have existence; your Petitioners pray that your Honourable House will, without delay, pass a law for putting the aggrieved and much-wronged People in possession of their undoubted rights:—to Representation co-extensive, at the least, with direct Taxation—to an equal distribution throughout the Community, of such Representation;—and to Parliaments of a continuance according to the Constitution, namely, not exceeding one year.

The Chairman having made some remarks after the Committee had been named and appointed by the meeting, on the mode of signing the Petitions, and the places in Town where they would remain for signature, left the chair. Captain Johnston was immedi-

ately voted to fill it, and a motion of thanks to the Chairman, for the candour, zeal, and ability, manifested by his conduct in the Chair, was made and carried with general approbation: A few words being returned by the Chairman, the Meeting proceeded to sign the Petition, and then quietly dispersed to their several homes, after remaining assembled for three hours in the greatest harmony and good humour with each other, and all the important subjects under their immediate discussion.

Signed, JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST, Chairman
of the Edinburgh Cockpit Meeting of
Inhabitants for Parliamentary Reform,
on Constitutional Principles.

Having thus far dispatched the business of the Edinburgh Reformists' Meeting, I shall of course proceed to notice, upon my own responsibility, various other topics of moment, agreeably to the advertisement already inserted in page 13, without claiming the smallest indemnity, as a responsible individual, for every word which may appear in these sheets, with or without the sanction of my reforming compeers, who I do not believe are capable of deserting me, and betraying this cause, though other Committees have, not a century ago, done so respecting the Union Canal. As on that mysterious occasion, so on the one now pending, I shall honestly declare, *Adsum qui feci in me converti ferrum!* without desiring any one of my associates even to shelter me with the melancholy shield of *fel-low suffering* for my political sins, whatever *that* may ultimately be.

It would be endless to detail all the little dirty tricks, which have been meanly put in motion, to render the efforts of the Edinburgh Reformist Meeting, nugatory and abortive. Their hand bills were frequently torn down with menacing execrations by the police of the City, or persons disguised as such in the open day; while nocturnal devastation was carried to a much greater pitch, by beings, in the mask of Gentlemen, who condescended to insult the

poor bill boys, by cursing them and their employers for diabolical Reformers.

The press has been so completely closed against the Resolutions and proceedings of the Meeting, that I was under the necessity of employing a printer at Glasgow, before we could reckon on the publication being carried into effect, even after most of the manuscript had been actually composed. From some Magisterial message, that was said to have been sent round the whole printing-offices in town, the standing forms were hastily demolished, to prevent my procuring even a few *revistes* for circulation privately among my own immediate friends, whom I wished to consult about the alleged danger of printing the proceedings.

One person was threatened with the loss of municipal patronage and employment, if he did not instantly wash his hands from all our typographical jobs, and others who took charge of the Petitions for signature, appeared personally at the Cockpit, or in any manner countenanced Reform, were assured in pretty plain terms, that their names would be thenceforth branded with infamy, and their respective callings in the good town, would very soon be exercised in vain, as no Royalist would ever again countenance them or their business, for the most obvious reasons.

The following public notice viz.—(" PARLIAMENTARY REFORM ON CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES. The Inhabitants of the City and Suburbs of Edinburgh are informed, that after the manner which was formerly adopted for the universal abolition of the African Slave Trade, Petitions for restoring the Rights and Liberties of our own Countrymen, by a Reform in the Representation of the People in Parliament, remain for Signature, at No. 10, Drummond-Street; 62, Candlemaker-Row; 248, Cannongate; and 69, Prince's Street. Edinburgh, 7th October, 1815.")—was posted in various parts of the Town and Suburbs repeatedly, but so far as the incessant exertions of a whole host of Corruptionists, and their servile retainers, could accomplish their worthy object, all the Reformists' labours were in vain, for out of hundreds, nay thousands of such

hand bills, put up in the morning dawn, few or none even were permitted to feel the warmth of the meridian sun shining upon them. So far, however, from such despicable deeds of darkness, having obstructed the dissemination of truth, so effectually as no doubt its enemies intended, it has shone with redoubled lustre; and charmed numbers of people to sign the Petitions who would not otherwise, perhaps, have troubled their heads or hands with any Reform whatever. To the generous and free spirit of a truly loyal Englishman, the surest passport for protection and relief is the bare conviction in his manly breast, that the meanest of his Countrymen has been persecuted or oppressed by the harsh and unclean hands of despotism. The pending case of the honest pedestrian Wilson, is no bad lesson to inquisitorial Magistrates, or to the innocent victims of their unholy wrath, whether in the English or Scottish Capital. Let that poor man's unmerited wrongs cry aloud for the constitutional restoration of every freeman's rights in this land of boasted freedom, and while tyrants are taught by his eventful story to despair of always shielding iniquity under the cloak of justice, the Scottish vassal even may hope for ultimate relief from all his more galling sufferings.

To be poor in spirit, while serving the Lords of the creation, is a doctrine that should be promulgated by those preachers only who can gladly be so poor in purse, and humble in personal gratification, for the sake and service of their more exalted Lord and Master, as to renounce many worldly enjoyments for the blessed Cross of the universal Peace Maker. Civil honours are sometimes showered, not only upon undeserving laymen with a lavish hand, but even coveted by pious and reverend Divines. Where is the respectable body now to be found, who will disinterestedly step in to pray for and petition with the people, more especially while some precious leaven or other of Baronets or Barons is proudly rising, in hopeful succession, in that state oven, whence so many promising batches have of late proceeded, to grace and gladden this land of homely cakes with dozens of shew bread, queen's cake, or country dumplings. On the

gallant *heroes* of the Navy, the brave *Officers* of the Army, the *honest* servants of a *limited* Monarchy, or even on the *heaven-born* sons of Apollo, where is the invidious Briton who would or could repine were *honours, titles, places, pensions, or courtly boons*, bestowed with a liberal hand; but should such honourable distinctions ever discriminate the pitiful *chapmen* of cockatrice eggs, ycleped Rotten Boroughs, the grovelling *Settlers* of Parliamentary Seats, a host of prostituted Priests, and *Probationers*, or the unprincipled and still more despicable *Mutes* of a Constitution-strangling Bashaw with three or more tails to his bowstring; where is the recreant Scot even, who might not thence regret that those very laurels so nobly won, may thus be sacrilegiously degraded or shamefully tarnished, and then exclaim with me, *Proh pudor! O tempora! O mores! Sic transit gloria mundi!*

In this place I can most opportunely introduce a letter from Cobbet which appeared in his last Number, as it pourtrays in very proper colours the real state of our City and politics, and should the promised epistle not sanctify some pages in this pamphlet, it may form one of the very first *Northern lights*, we shall in the *Speculum* hang out to the Community.

Mr. COBBETT,—Your friend and fellow-labourer in the good cause of Reform (Major Cartwright) has done this place the honour of a visit, and has afforded as much satisfaction to the real friends of liberty here, as he has caused aversion and dread in its enemies. He delivered a lecture on his favourite topic, which was as well attended as the nature of the politics of this place and the character of its inhabitants would admit; and to those capable of appreciating the merits of such a discourse, nothing could be more consoling in these moments of oppressed humanity. To see that aged patriot, in his undaunted manner, dare publicly to express the genuine sentiments of an intelligent, unbiassed, and uncorrupted mind, in a place where, for the last twenty years, no voice has ventured to raise itself against corruption, is, and must continue to be, a subject of admiration. It is the last bright star in this gloomy night of despotism and persecution. Whether we consider the

clear critical analysis of the history of our liberties, or his manly and independent commentary, we are equally carried away by a conviction of its truth, and respect for his worth and talents. The advantage to be derived to the good cause, by a visit of this kind, is incalculable; not so much that there may be any thing very new in the communications, for the subject has been fully before the world for many years, (and every day's experience of the acts of the Government shews more clearly the necessity of the measure) but it maintains in the minds of men a kind of connection, or common chain, by which the friends of liberty know each other more intimately, are led to a bolder and firmer hope of the fulfilment of their wishes, and the drooping of the benevolent mind in the present state of the world, is in some degree animated to a new exertion. It would be highly gratifying to learn from Mr. Cartwright the result of his observations, in the different places he visited, as to the state of the general feeling on this most important of all subjects; the publication of such, must have the most beneficial tendency among the friends in the South, where alone any thing effectual can be expected, and to whom all eyes in this quarter are turned. As to this town, little can be looked for in the way of petition; not so much that there are few who are heartily inclined to the subject, as on account of that dastardly spirit of dependance in the lower and middling classes, and that all-prevailing spirit of *espionage* among the great and their creatures. From the first magistrate, or dignitary of the law, to the meanest officer in the excise or tax office, all are on the alert to select the least obnoxious to the ruling party. Is a place to be disposed of, or a favour to be granted, the unhappy applicant must go through the fiery ordeal of this inquisitorial hydra;—if an independent sentiment, a patriotic wish, or a liberal view of a passing event, should escape his lips, his fate is irreversibly fixed. Let not, however, your mind be swayed in forming an estimate of the strength of our friends by the number who shall sign the Petition; this is no criterion; not perhaps one in fifty will choose to have his name, his connec-

tions, his affairs, his prospects, laid before committees of public men, bankers, &c. who will critically examine the whole, and decide on his fate, in so far as lies within their influence. Lists are made up; even the neutral are suspected, and, as a cover, many will fly to sign counter petitions who are warmly attached to us. In fact, public depravity is at its height in this city. Selfishness, a love of money, and shew; a total want of disinterestedness; a sneaking to men of political influence, and to Bank directors; a fear of offence, by even a disrespectful look, are the characteristics of the place. All this, as I suppose, you are aware, does not proceed from want of intelligence among the natives of this country. No! but we are poor, and the few rich and powerful mould all to their pleasure. There is much political juggling among the bankers, who are all gainers by the present system of the war faction. Between their influence among the mercantile world, and the prying officious spirit of the clergy among the middling classes of all denominations, there is little chance of any thing like a fair display of the little public spirit that may exist. As I have introduced the clergy, I might give you some account of that body, but I shall reserve that for a future letter.

AN OLD FRIEND OF REFORM.

Edinburgh, 23d Sept. 1815.

Some ten years ago when I knew much less of the municipal or political parties of my native town and country than I do now, the existing police was found equally inefficient and oppressive. The inhabitants at large were averse to that system remaining longer in force, but the Magistrates rather wished to support it. A trial of strength took place in the Merchant Hall on the subject, which terminated in leaving them in a minority, and of course, gave me, who had taken the most active part in the contest, so far the victory as one of the majority.

In the course of a paper war which followed this forensic contest, I certainly called the *war faction* a *junto*, which would ultimately involve the kingdom in *total ruin*, if they succeeded in turning the *Foxites* out. In a few months the tables were completely turned upon me, by the ins and outs changing places, in the *pension-hunting* hornpipe, or *Scottish reel*, and I was left, of course, to suck my thumb, or chew the cud of bitter reflection, upon having *prematurely* launched my slight built Indian *canoe*, on the troubled ocean of *local* and general *politics*, without either a wet sail, or a patent rudder in my frail vehicle.

Two seasons had hardly elapsed before I was made sensible, that a humble politician should never cherish *one single hair* in his neck, lest, when found tripping, however slightly, it be afterwards transformed into a *halter* to hang his self with, by one of those hocus pocus tricks or *ledgerdmain* processes, at which *legal jugglers* all over the world are dextrous beyond conception.

About this period *A*, as a trustee on a bankrupt estate had a complicated suit pending with *B & C* banking partners. *A*'s law agent *D*, contrived to perplex the *main question* with a *collateral episode*, in which *E* was artfully introduced, without the knowledge of *F*, the Agent for *B & C*. One forenoon *D* thought proper alone, and unaccompanied by *F*, to wait on *B & C*, alleging that *F* was not keeping a sharp enough look out after *their suit*, which would thus be lost, from the want of a little seasonable exertion. Having thus wormed his self into the good graces or temporary confidence of *B & C*, a hint was dropt by *D*, that *E* would *take oath* at a *private examination* to a particular *fact*, which must prove injurious to *B & C*. They insisted that this never could be done, unless *E* meant to *perjure his self*, for the sake of revenging an old quarrel with *B & C*, because the *very reverse* of the promised deposition was entered in their Ledger in *E*'s own hand writing, which he possibly might have forgotten, when he engaged to *depose a falsehood* before any one, either to gratify *private revenge*, or to please *D*, with a *false asseveration*.

D went away with this expression in his mouth: Be that as it may, rest you assured, that *E* will swear in the manner *I* have stated, and that perhaps sooner than you think, as the whole cause will come before the Court in two or three weeks at farthest, for *G*'s (the Judge's final decision). *B* & *C* being convinced that *E* was on the very brink of perjury, after consulting a few minutes, resolved, that they should write him a letter, which *C*, the junior partner, immediately did to this effect, but in the name of the Company.—“Sir, If it be true that you mean, at a pending private examination to swear, we had more partners than our two selves, we feel it our duty as Christians to warn you against the crime of perjury, because an opposite fact is stated, as it really stands, in your own handwriting in our Ledger, and must at once flash conviction on your own mind or any other body's, the moment the entry, to which we allude, is produced in Court, and found to be diametrically the reverse of your expected solemn depositions. Having thus far done our duty, lest the circumstance we now mentioned has wholly escaped your memory, We remain, Sir,” &c.

Scarcely a day elapsed, when a thundering denunciation for concussion of evidence, was given in against *B* & *C*, framed so like a charge of the infamous crime of subornation, that they were glad to send for *F* in a great hurry, in order to his learning candidly the real state of the case. *F*, on finding that his clients had unwittingly laid themselves open to *D*'s machinations, felt rather hurt at their folly, but pointedly reprobated *D*'s presuming to approach his *F*'s clients, without permission, or the actual attendance of himself, as constantly had been the practice among Gentlemen of the profession; and this *F* alleged was the only deviation he had ever met with, in the whole course of his life. *F* continued to observe, that as the interlude of concussion, which *D* had most ungenerously introduced into this legal comedy, had not the most distant connection with the merits of the main action in the play of double-dealing, he felt convinced, that the whole would be treated as a

pitiful *farce*, which could not possibly terminate in the *tragedy* which this legitimate *Hector D*, pretended, unless through one of those *fatal errors* in judgment, whence there is but too often *no appeal*, in such a country as Scotland.

The subordinate plea of Christian *charity* and honest *intention* versus *Concussion* and his coadjutors, went on in the supreme Court, and though ably advocated by *H & I*, to the utter astonishment of every body present, an *arbitrary* fine of *Seventy Pounds* was immediately decreed against the *junior partner C*, only: Had not some of the other *Lords* on the *Bench*, interceded in *his* behalf, as a *Gentleman* totally a *stranger* to the *forms* of law, and one wholly *incapable* of committing the *contempt* laid to his charge, with *any evil intention*, poor *C* would have been instantly consigned, during pleasure, to a *dungeon*, much worse perhaps, than the *Canongate Jail*, so famous for the safe custody of *genteel* delinquents in the Caledonian capital. When *F* announced this unaccountable sentence to his clients, they were not less *judgment-struck* than himself, and understanding *their bank notes* were not to be received as a *legal tender* in payment of this *most legitimate* penalty, they were fain to substitute *Royals*, so far at least to save their feelings, and prevent a mortifying refusal from the *mulct* collector to the Court, on this unprecedented occasion. It was in vain that the Advocates urged the impartial Judge to reflect, *1st.* That the sacramental examination of *E* never took place, and at all events it would not have been before the supreme Court. *2d.* That *B & C* defied *E* still, at his peril, to take the *oath* in question. *3d.* That if *he did*, they would stake their all to convict him of *downright wilful perjury*. *4th.* That even admitting *E* might prove *his assertion* well founded, that fact alone, could no way affect or invalidate *B & C's main cause*. *5th.* That if blame attached any where, it was to *D*, for *daring* without *F's consent and company*, to wait on his clients *B & C*. *6th.* That the pending *concussion* plea, was, on the face of it, a wanton and *unprincipled* intrusion of *extraneous* matter, on innocent and *unexperienced* men, in the absence of their

legal Counsel, to involve them and their suit in *additional expence*, delay and *disgrace*, if possible. 7th. That *E's* desire of *revenge*, and *D's chagrin* at the expected decision of the main cause against his client *A*, would easily account for the *bugbear* or *lion* in the way, which had been conjured up by *those worthies*.

8th. That *subornation* or *concussion* could only be sustained, where the persons accused of it, clearly had an interest in the *concocted* individual doing what would *serve them*, instead of avoiding merely that act, which must injure his self only. 9th. That the event of the pending law suit, must satisfy every mind open to conviction, that *B & C* never had, or could any way have a *motif* different from what they always declared, viz. a desire to keep a *fellow Christian* from inevitable *perjury*, if left *unwarned*, to the dictates of *personal malice*, or the artful suggestions of an *expert* limb of the law, whose object was undoubtedly to make *E* swallow a *false oath*, from which nothing but *B & C's* seasonable *caveat* had deterred him.

10th. That the whole of the *foregoing reasons*, were corroborated by *E's* not daring in the very last state of this subordinate litigation to *assert upon oath*, that any person whatever was a partner in the Bank but *B & C* only, though still invited to do so at his peril. 11th. That *C* being the junior partner, and merely the *Company's Clerk*, while writing the letter signed in the *firm's ordinary signature*, he could not with any *show of justice* be singled out for the brand of infamy, which must attach to his *individual character*, while his partner *B* was equally culpable, if any fault really had been committed, and, of course would thus so far *escape Scott* free. 12th. That *C* was a man of honour and a scholar, who would not hesitate to make any *reasonable apology*, for an unlucky *deviation*, like the present, from the *forms* of Court, to which his long residence abroad, had naturally made him a *perfect stranger*, provided nothing but a *reprimand* were awarded against him, though not more obnoxious even to it, than the senior partner, and much less so, than *D*, the only *real offender*.

The grave Judge lost his temper, adhered to his harsh decree,

in spite of all expostulation, and what was very extraordinary, wrote it at home with his own hands, instead of leaving this job, as usual, to the Clerk in waiting.

My readers will undoubtedly think this is a tedious tale, but each ought to reflect, that it is here narrated, to prevent, if possible, his ever being subjected to a similar fate, by the arbitrary fiat of any man, let his station in life be even next to the throne; for it must be recollected, that the *Sovereign* personally can have no such *unlimited power*, far less should any *inferior Magistrate* or *judicial bench*, possess so dangerous a *weapon* against the property, liberty, or life of his own fellow subjects, unless for a daring contempt in Court.

That this case may not remain in any obscurity, it may be briefly recapitulated thus, keeping in mind always, throughout the narrative, that I am the condemned *C*, or capon of a Cock, that was sacrificed as a victim, not to the divinity of Physic, but to the terrible deity of Caledonian justice. *A*, a mercantile Trustee for a Bankrupt Estate. *B & C* two Bankers, creditors on *A*'s trust. *C*, the writer, as stated above, of this narrative. *D* the Agent to *A*, and a keen shrewd *law man*, with the very best talents and *principles* for that profession. *E*, the protegee and quondam partner of *B*, with whom he quarrelled, because *C* was admitted into the firm, and which *E* soon afterwards left. *F* a good honest *easy man*, agent to *B & C*, but not enough of *diamond cut diamond*, for his opponent *D*, a much younger practitioner. *G*, the presiding Judge. *H & I*, two Advocates who laboured in vain for their clients *B & C*, giving them at last, advice to *submit implicitly* to the sentence, lest a *worse thing* might befall them.

As *E & G* are the only parties who have, to my knowledge, gone to "that undiscovered country, from whose bourne no traveller returns," the rest have it still in their power to come forward, each in *propria persona*, and prove me guilty if they can, of any *essential deviation* from, or mis-statement of the *leading features* in this, to me at least, most *injurious* proceeding, which I never *can forget*, nor without *concession*, would I feel inclined to *forgive*, were I to meet

this *judicial ghost*, at the *midnight* hour on earth, or the man in celestial robes, who once oppressed me, were we to encounter each other on the very farthest verge of eternity.

In justice to *B*, I must confess he paid his share of the pecuniary fine, though he could not possibly feel so acutely, as I have ever since done, not on account of injury really sustained, so much as the consciousness of receiving an *unmerited blow* from a political quarter, under the cloak of an arbitrary law, or a simple rule of Court, where the Judge has the jury in *his own keeping* or conscience, to the terror of *every freeman* who gets within so despotical a vortex, extending beyond the walls of the Court.

Some good friends advised me, after the business was all over, to expostulate with the Judge by letter; but I asked them, if great men generally had magnanimity enough to condemn themselves, and acquit a *political opponent*, after having passed a sentence, as irrevocable, under such circumstances, as the laws of the Medes and Persians?

By other very sapient folks, I was counselled boldly to appeal to the House of Lords for redress of a *palpable wrong*, and was once on the eve of doing so, when the very idea of making myself the passive *shuttle-cock*, for an indefinite period, between two such formidable *battledores*, as the *double-faced gates* of the Parliament House, in both London and Edinburgh, I decided in rather bearing the ills I had, than flying to others which I knew not of. The galling injury, however, has been festering in my breast ever since, as one of those inveterate *scrofulous evils* of the present system, which nothing can eradicate, but Parliamentary Reform on Constitutional Principles. Since the commission of this *alleged crime*, years have rolled over my head, and covered it entirely with grey hairs, not one of which, however, condemns me in the *small court* of my own conscience, or dares to say, *black* is the *white* of your eye; though they all constantly bristle up, in terrible array, whenever I ponder on the *hard hand* which signed my *infamy*.

One Summer evening, when in the *very act of detailing* my grievances to a *Reforming Friend*, (who was accidentally drinking tea at our house,) with expressions of the *most corrosive feelings*, I learned next morning, that the object of them, and executioner of *my character* in my native place, had been about the same hour summoned, at a very short notice, indeed, to attend *the bar of a tribunal* much more *infallible* than his own; and I certainly was so struck with the *extraordinary coincidence*, as to have repeatedly since mentioned it to many of my acquaintances, when narrating, as I always do, the various stages of the *judicial gauntlet*, which I, an *independent Whig*, was compelled to run by a staunch Tory. Not content with handing me down in the immaculate records of the Justiciary Court here, as a confirmed *concusser*, or condemned *suborner* of evidence, in a solitary niche by myself, my name was most dexterously interwoven, in a contemporaneous decree, with a *notorious delinquent*, even of a deeper dye; that we might long live in the eye of legitimate posterity, as a "*par nobile fratrum*" alike worthy of such a gibbet and chains, *in terrorem* to both moral and *political* sinners.

So far *my townsmen* are right in considering me at le st one *black sheep*, in the *flock of bleating Reformers*, because, "who steals my purse, steals trash; 'twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands; but he that *filches* from me my *good name*, *robs* me of that which not enricheth him, and makes me *poor* indeed."

No, by heavens! I will no longer be *so in spirit*, while one shilling is left me to rub on another, and I have a tongue in my head, or a pen in my hand, to *demand justice* at the public forum of my fellow-subjects or *slaves*; for I have *felt little better*, ever since my *forehead* has been burnt by an *arbitrary iron*, and I have been obliged to suffer in silence, those *harrowing pangs* that must ever accompany *oppression* from the *very arm*, which the *nation exalts* and supports, to *shield and protect* the meanest of its individuals from injury.

This *unconstitutional power*, under whatever technical phrase it

may appear, whether as *rules* of Court, *acts* of Sederant, *contempts*, or any other *term*, short of an *Act of Parliament*, I boldly denounce it as a *many-headed monster* of despotic tyranny, which our *free Parliament* would, like the infant *Hercules*, strangle in its cradle. No wonder then, that I appear now, *with this conviction*, in the front rank of *Scottish Reformers*. As such, I am not the first who has escaped a *dungeon*, at the *fiat* of a *despot*, nor may all my trials be yet fairly over; none of them, however, shall *wrench from an honest heart*, the love it bears to *rational liberty*.

From her enchanting lips, I could quaff nectar amidst the frozen shores and icy mountains of Greenland, and from her radiant eyes, catch a glowing spark among the coldest snows of Siberia; nay, with a crust of dry bread, and a cup of cold water, and this celestial nymph by my side, I would deem the *desert of Arabia*, a paradise, compared with the *servile court* of a tyrant, or the *downy bed* of a slave. Had my crime of, or rather attempt at, *soul-saving*, been committed in these days, when Potentates are become *wholesale dealers* or drovers in that *precious commodity*, and the inquisitorial priesthood still preserve the *retail traffic*, with so many peculiar privileges in their own hands, I might have reconciled the idea of *brand, fine, and captivity*, with the *malpractices* of my being tried and condemned as a *private smuggler* or *unlicensed privateer*, among *contraband goods*, that none but the kings and priests of the earth have a *divine right* to sell, cut, carve, salt, or cure, as their own vile passions, pride, interest, or caprice may dictate, in so *glorious a monopoly*.

But no such commerce having existed in the days of my *tribulation* on *legitimate principles*, I am still at a loss to account for the severity of a *judicial sentence* against an *old cobbler*, for simply trying to clear a poor infatuated soul on the *touchstone of memory and truth*, from the foul stains of *impending perjury*. This is the head and front of my offending, which any impartial judge will now perceive, by casting a deliberate retrospective glance at the whole process, as detailed here from page 39 to 44.

It may now be right to tell, that *E* also went to his long home, after losing his fortune, credit, and health, not long after the sudden demise of *G*, and it may soon be my turn next, for which, I am most completely prepared, as far as relates to the sin of *suborning*, or what I have termed *soul-cobbling*, in compliance with the *fashionable phraseology* of *soul-selling* by millions on the *Continent*, at the present day. *E* & *G* may both hang their heads, whenever, and wherever we meet on this subject, while on this one score, at least, mine shall be as erect as any *whipping-post*, in the United Empire; since I can always look that man in the face, who has injured me, though my eyes would naturally be averted from those, whom I may have treated, not exactly according to that golden rule, which every honest man will endeavour to follow, as closely as frail humanity, and a sensitive abhorrence of unmerited wrong, will permit.

Before this topic be closed, I must in justice add, that *G* universally bears the character of having been the *most upright, able, intelligent* Judge that ever adorned the *Scottish bench*—a man beloved, respected and admired by all who knew him, and one who, in the belief of no person in Edinburgh, was capable of an unjust or oppressive act. *Facts* are nevertheless stubborn things, and this tale, though occasionally somewhat in the *bass relief* manner from my hieroglyphic style, has no varnish of which I shall ever be ashamed, when the naked figures are fairly extracted from their repositories, and exhibited to public inspection. From those registers, though *prima facie*, I shall certainly come out dark as a chimney sweeper, or a poor negro, I trust yet to become by investigation as white as the purest wool from the lambs' backs on Pentland hills; otherwise, I shall have soon to follow the herds of black sheep, now grazing in the fertile plains of America, and with them rather glory in, than lament such a permanent badge of freedom, from hopeless slavery.

Should my name live in the annals of *Scottish condemnations*, some trusty Trojan may yet mark the time of my sentence, and say, that many a better fellow suffered in a worse cause, though the mere infliction of punishment is no indelible proof of crime, especially where a political transgressor has no other jury than his irre-

sponsible Judge and executioner, who probably graces the formidable ranks of an *opposite party*, during the whole period of an *inquisitorial torture*.

After this *exposé*, I may ask, with some reason at least, of my aristocratical friends, who scowl at me as a Reformer, if they would not have felt the *esprit de corps*, coming fast upon themselves, had they been, like me, fined and degraded by a *law, practice, usage, rule, dictum, finding, order, decret, sentence, fiat, mittimus*, or any other *cabalistical* term, which cannot thereby conceal, in many cases, a *despotism* as absolute and arbitrary as an *edict, ordinance, mandate, bull*, or *Ukaff* of the beloved Ferdinand, the desired Louis, the princely Frederick, the holy Pope, or even the *magnanimous* Alexander, all our most puissant and *faithful* allies in supporting their own *divine rights*, and in prolonging their *abject vassals'* intolerable *wrongs*.

What has been my situation, might have been, may now, or hereafter be the lot, of any individual, who is, no more exempt from such *merciless persecution*, however unmolested at present, than the healthy man is for a moment insured, from that fatal dart of death, which pierces his dying friend to the heart, in some adjacent mansion; a reflection alone, which ought to nerve every manly arm and generous bosom in the cause of *Constitutional Reform*, without which the most *flagrant abuses* will, like the accumulating snow ball, '*vires acquirunt cundo*,' or as the swelling streams of *venality* and corruption, which concentrate only to sweep all *Constitutional embankments* before them.

The heinous offence then, for which my heart has been *rent with indignation* for years past, to such a degree, that in *defiance of every hazard*, in the loss of friends, domestic happiness, and personal safety, I must here *give it vent*, or run the risk of my head soon turning a victim to *insanity*; this *enormity* I repeat, was technically styled *concussion*, and so far *very justly*, for I, on my part, am sensible of its *effects* on my *poor brain* to this day. I am convinced, that no *freeman* of any independent spirit exists; *even in*

Scotland, who would not exactly, under similar circumstances, *keenly feel, deeply think, and boldly act* like me, in any *lawful effort*, to procure *permanent defence* against such an *arbitrary infliction of punishment*, from an error in *judgment*. That it was so, no *impartial man* can deny, who really *studies the case*, supposing me perfectly content to give the *decision* no harsher *construction*; but how or whence are my *blasted* character and *confiscated* property to return. Am I, in the meekness of Christian charity, to address every *extortioner*, who may happen to *cross my humble walk* of life, “Do, good Sir, make your demand, before we part, the round *hundred pounds*, as I am equally bound by precept to bid you *square the seventy pounds*, as to let you *smite one cheek*, because you *smote the other*.” Were this the common *practice*, among the pious people with whom I have for ten years past associated, the *example* might be too *powerful* to resist its *temptation*; but alas! I have never yet seen any thing like so much consideration or *forbearance*: on the contrary, *many* of them seem as *fond* of the *war whoop* as their more *licentious neighbours*; and at *all events*, none of them venture to *remonstrate* against the *havock and desolation* which *divine regal claims* are daily making in Europe, while *Protestants* are *roasting alive* at *slow fires* in *France*, and *patriots* perishing in thousands in *their beloved’s embrace*, on the *fiery bed* of the *Inquisition*, no, not even when numbers of *their own church*, suffer the *unmerited persecution* of *fine, imprisonment, and real torture*, at the hands of *brutal power*.

Suppose we analyse the nature of the *subornation* so severely *lashed in my person*, and to what does it in a *moral or religious* point of view *fairly amount*?—why, that *I exactly did to E* what *I would have expected from him*, as a man and a *Christian*, had he seen me, as I saw him on the very *brink* of a precipice, more *fatal* to the welfare of his *precious soul*, than to the safety of a less worthy body. Take a reverse view of the matter, and conceive that, when *B* said to *C*, “it would be a *pity* to let *E* ignorantly *perjure* himself, which *from our books, we know*, in this instance, he cannot

avoid," a hasty retort had been made by C, "Let him do so, *by all means*, and take the consequences both at a terrestrial and *celestial bar*."

Had I (being C) really acted so, and the Judge in Court, allowing E to take a false oath in my hearing, afterwards understood that I might have prevented the commission of so *horrible a crime*, by a seasonable *memento* of a *damning proof* in E's own *hand-writing*, that his deposition *must be untrue*, would not *the whole bench* have justly *reprobated* my unchristian and *savage connivance*, either from a *depraved* or *revengeful* mind, that cared not *one straw* for the *eternal fate*, even of a *mortal foe*.

From so flagrant an *omission* of brotherly *duty*, I might certainly have merited the *very punishment* that was most *wantonly* inflicted upon me, for the *commission* of a *charitable action*, and on *that ground* only, I here loudly call on one and all of *my fellow subjects* to assist me *constitutionally*, even yet in procuring *adequate damages*, by thousands of *Petitions* for that very *free Parliament*, which alone *will*, or can lend a *gracious ear*, to my *long stifled complaint*, if ever carried any farther than these sheets. As I, some years ago, when *hopeless* of ever obtaining satisfaction *indignantly* tore every particle of the *whole process* and blew *them in atoms* with a *vengeance* to the winds of heaven; be it known to all whom these presents may reach, that the present *detail* is from *memory* entirely.

If any *one fact* stated here, be nevertheless proved a *wilful* or *serious distortion*, by the most rigid scrutiny of *parties* at all *interested* in my *statement*, then am I most *willing* to let a *Borough Monger* even forge a *burning iron*, for me, with this device, "BEHOLD THE MURDERER OF A DEAD MAN," which *his whipper-in*, shall have a right to stamp *red hot* on my forehead, for *daring* to *broach a falsehood* under the plea of a *public protest* against, and claim of damages for, having been *slayed by justice*, and *fleece*d by *law*, some six years ago, at one and the same time. To prove the *inevitable necessity* of some *amelioration* of the existing *unconstitutional polity* in these realms, I rejoice to think that my devoted

name, *branded with infamy* by the College of Justice here, shall resound in these sheets, from *Johnny Grott's* house to the *Land's end*, and thence reverberate to the *Giant's Causeway*, with the well known legitimate call, of a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, for redress of crying injustice, *flagrant abuses*, *local delinquencies*, *corporation crimes*, and all those innumerable ills which flow from the *corrupted and corrupting* fountain of *Rotten Borough venality*. A sink of villany that can be purified by no other specific than *Reform* in Parliament on *Constitutional principles*; for though the *partial exposure* of fructiferous ramifications in the *physical world*, certainly has a *wonderful effect*, in particular instances, on the production of *good fruit*, nothing but radical culture, periodical controul, and persevering exertions will succeed in the moral world, to prevent the blossoms of even limited authority, or arbitrary sway, from producing the *vilest crabs*, or the still worse *apples* which flourish on the borders of the lake *Asphaltites*.

The very circumstance of the Judge's character who mulcted me, being so *high* and *immaculate*, constitutes the *overwhelming weight* of his *error in judgement* against me, and demonstrates most clearly, the abject state of slavery, in which the vassals in Scotland have been kept for ages past, often with little or no redress of their well founded complaints. If so peerless a Senator as *G*, could subject me to the cruel verdict of captivity, fine and disgrace, by his mere *ipse dixit* for a venial trespass, what has even a *moderate Reformer* to expect from the hands of a *Jeffreys*, if ever such a monster should again pollute with his *beastly carcase*, any Judgement Seat in this kingdom. That the *Brute* may be instantly recognised in any subsequent *metempsychosis* which may yet expose a helpless Briton to his lawless rage, I cannot do better than portray the *detestable English Herod*, in the true colours of a faithful historian, who thus handled his descriptive pencil on the diabolical original.

"During the reign of King Charles the II. *Jeffreys* showed himself a *bitter enemy* to those *dissenting ministers* who, in that time of

persecution, were tried by him: he was one of the greatest advisers and promoters of all the oppressions and arbitrary measures carried on in the reign of James II.; and his sanguinary and inhuman proceedings against Monmouth's unhappy adherents in the West, will ever render his name infamous!

"Whenever the prisoner was of a different party, or he could please the Court by condemning him, instead of appearing, according to the duty of his office, as his counsel, he would scarce allow him to speak for himself; but would load him with the grossest and most vulgar abuses, browbeat, insult, and turn to ridicule the witnesses that spoke in his behalf, and even threaten the jury with fine and imprisonment, if they made the least hesitation about bringing in the prisoner guilty. Yet it is said, that when he was in temper, and matters perfectly indifferent came before him, no one became a seat of justice better. Nay, it even appears, that when he was under no state influence he was sometimes inclined to protect the natural and civil rights of mankind. However, the brutality of Jeffreys commonly showed on the bench, where his voice and visage were equally terrible, and at length exposed him to a severe mortification. A scriviner of Wapping having a cause before him, one of the opponent's counsel said he was a strange fellow, and sometimes went to church, and sometimes to conventicles; and it was thought he was a trimmer. At this the Chancellor fired, "A trimmer? (said he); I have heard much of that monster, but never saw one. Come forth, Mr Trimmer, and let me see your shape."

"He then treated the poor fellow so roughly, that, on his leaving the hall, he declared he would not undergo the terrors of that man's face again to save his life, and he should certainly retain the frightful impressions of it as long as he lived. Soon after the Prince of Orange coming, the Lord Chancellor, dreading the public resentment, disguised himself in a seaman's dress, in order to leave the kingdom; and was drinking in a cellar, when this Scriviner coming into the cellar, and seeing again the face which had filled him with such horror, started; on which Jeffreys, fearing he was known,

feigned a cough, and turned to the wall with his pot of beer in his hand. But *Mr Trimmer* going out, gave notice that he was there: and *the mob rushing in*, seized him, and carried him before the Lord Mayor, who sent him with a *strong guard* to the Lords of the Council, by whom he was committed to the Tower, where he died in 1689."

It is remarkable that the late *Countess* of Pomfret met with very *rude insults* from the *populace*, on the western road, only because she was *grand daughter* to the *inhuman Jeffreys*.

There are various sorts of *trimmers*, and some of the *present age* would not be much the worse of a *fright* at least from a *real devil* like *Jeffreys*, as this might *metamorphose* them into *radical jacket trimmers* of all the *Herods* in Christendom, who appear *pro tempore* to be reigning *unmolested* by a single *John* or *Jonas*, in more kingdoms than one, while the *spiritual watchmen* seem all either *asleep*, or too much *occupied* with other worldly affairs, and *bodily concerns*, to trouble any *misrule* in high places.

One may naturally conclude, that the escape which *Jeffreys* made, from being *torn to pieces*, by the hands of an *infuriated populace*, will prove a *warning voice* to every *senatorial sultan*, who, at any time of *his reign*, may come in contact with so capital a *trimmer*, as *Mr. Scriviner* proved to the execrable *Jeffreys*. Not being better versed in English law, than many of my readers, we may presume, that the above designation bears some analogy to our *Solicitor*, *Clerks* to the Signet, or *simple Writers*, all of whom, I trust will prove equally adroit in *unkenneling* any such *fox*, as the vile *Jeffreys*, were it possible for a *similar miscreant* ever to burrow under the *impenetrable* bench of a *College of Justice*, constructed on so *sacred* a model as a *Parisian Court* of Judicature.—Such a supposition would be a downright libel, not only on the sagacity of our super-excellent Parliament House, but on the acknowledged superior scent of Scottish terriers to English bull dogs, in ferretting out the slyest *Reynard* that ever lost his brush in a *tantivy*, with the hounds in full cry; could game of this description ever escape

the second sight or keen nose of a Caledonian shepherd's dog for one Session?—An exuberant imagination might *conceive* such a coincidence and result, but every sober man will treat the whole as *the chimera* of some *disordered brain*, since Scotland not one Jeffrey could contain.

Nothing will afford me greater pleasure as a *lost sheep* in the Scottish Capital, than the accomplishment of as much *legal* resistance to tyranny and oppression, by my appeal to the nation at large for a fair hearing, about my seventy pounds of *smart money*, as followed the memorable stand made by the immortal *Hampden*, on the score of *ship money*, which probably paved the way for the *final expulsion* of the Stuart dynasty, at the glorious Revolution in 1688, on the principles of which alone, can we found any *hopes* of enjoying and preserving as freemen, liberty, property, limb and life, in defiance of tyranny, under every form or name in this country, whatever may be the ultimate fate, in that respect, of insulted, degraded, prostrate France. There, indeed, sanctimonious Royalty, aided with innumerable ghostly troopers, grey, black, bay, green, or *lily-livered* dragoons, regular and irregular sacerdotal *galloppers*, saintly chevaliers, *inquisitorial* chasseurs, with religious light horsemen of all sorts and sizes, may terrify and subdue every poor soul, by the menaced vengeance of hell flames hereafter, or the more *material energy* of the faggot on earth; more especially, while *myriads* of *foreign* muskets are *paid by us*, to fire away upon the silly *French bodies*, who must submit, or be shot dead on the spot, as *base republicans*, or *limited monarchy* men, not worthy of so *parental a King*, as the *blessed* Louis, the lineal descendant of a dearly beloved *saint* of the same name.

This *regime* may last for awhile, but not long enough to compensate the bloodshed, misery, and *expence* it will ultimately create, not only to the French nation, but all Europe; unless the different powers and *principalities of darkness*, in high places, immediately *clap extinguishers* on all the free and sabbath schools in Christendom, on the Bible and Missionary Societies, on Bell and Lancaster's

labours, and in short, upon every moral and religious *seminary*, which does not enforce *divine* rights, *passive* obedience, *non-resistance* to the *vilest* tyranny, and a *general* night of darkness over the human mind, in order to render the bodies of rational men, if possible, *brutal automatons* of unprincipled *power*, or the submissive patients of political empirics, and *soul-mongers* all over the world.

Thank God, that America is apparently destined to escape the universal whirlpool of slavery, that is engulfing the states, kingdoms, empires, and republics of this hemisphere, in a promiscuous mass of subjection and servility on one hand, and a black knot of insidious continental priests and kings on the other. Jonathan, though a young statesman, is an old cadger, and had the sagacity upon his secession from us, to preserve all the *sound* eggs in the constitutional creel of his parents for himself, reserving the *rotten ones* apart only, as a sort of *moral magazine* of Shrapuell's shells to throw in *our faces*, at seasonable times and places, with the most fatal effects upon our domestic prosperity, even when exalted on that pillory of *glory* and *honour*, which has lately thrown the whole European host so much into the shade of our *superior* tactics and *courage* combined. One effect of Yankee foresight is, that the whole of their Government expenses do not exceed the British *secret service* money, and *other items*, which may often be lavished, for any thing we can ever know to the contrary, with an unsparing hand, on puerile festivals, jubilees, the *prostituted whores* of Babylon, or a meretricious *Janus* of a press, with a *face of freedom*, the more effectually to gull thoughtless Johnny Bull into the *shambles of slavery* to all eternity: For which favours, without a constitutional reform, the good-natured brute will long have the satisfaction of paying the *seat-setters* in Parliament, through their myrmidons, almost *one pound* of taxes and other impositions, for *every shilling* given, through a fair popular representation, by a free citizen of Columbia, to support that form of government, of which *every freeman* there constitutes an *efficient*, though *remote* member. What the genuine sensations of a true-blooded Yankee must be,

when he ruminates on these things, may easily be read in the following beautiful effusion, by a Columbian minstrel, which is much more delicious to my *plebeian taste*, than all the *fulsome strains* of every *recreant* Laureat in the world, or of the most *servile* bard who ever buttered a pope, a prince, or a peer, from the crown of the head to the tip of his great toe.

COLUMBIA.

Columbia's shores are wild and wide,
Columbia's hills are high,
And rudely planted side by side
Her forests meet the eye;
But narrow must those shores be made,
And low Columbia's hills,
And low her verdant forests laid,
Ere Freedom leave her fields;
For 'tis the land where, rude and wild,
She play'd her gambols when a child.

And deep and wide her streams that flow,
Impetuous to the tide,
And thick and green her laurels grow
On ev'ry river's side;
But, should a transatlantic host
Pollute her waters fair,
We'll meet them on the rocky coast,
And gather laurels there;
For, oh, Columbia's sons are brave,
And free as ocean's wildest wave.

The gales that wave her mountain pine
Are fragrant and serene,
And never clearer sun did shine
Than lights her vallies green;
But putrid must those breezes blow,
That sun must set in gore,

Ere footsteps of a foreign foe
 Imprint Columbia's shore;
 For, oh, her sons are brave and free,
 Their breasts beat high with liberty.

For arming boldest cuirassier
 Are mines of sterling worth,
 For sword and buckler, spur and spear,
 Embowelled in the earth;
 But, ere Columbia's sons resign
 The boon their fathers won,
 The polished ore from every mine
 Shall glitter in the sun;
 For bright's the blade and sharp the spear
 Which Freedom's sons to battle bear.

Let Britain boast her deeds well done,
 Display her trophies bright,
 And count her laurels bravely won,
 In well contested fight;
 Columbia can a ban array
 Will wrest the laurel wreath,
 With truer eye and steadier hand
 Will strike the blow of death;
 For, whether on the land or sea,
 Columbia's march is victory.

Let France in blood through Europe wade,
 And, in her frantic mood,
 In civil discord draw the blade,
 And spill her children's blood;
 Too dear the skill in arms is bought,
 Where kindred life blood flows;
 Columbia's sons are better taught
 To triumph o'er their foes,
 And then to comfort, soothe and save
 The feelings of the conquered brave.

Then let Columbia's Eagle soar,
 And bear her banner high,
 The thunder from her dexter postr,
 And lightning from her eye,
 And when she sees, from realms above,
 The storm of war is spent,
 Descending, like the welcome dove,
The olive branch present;
 And then will beauty's hand divine,
 The never fading wreath entwine.

For two months past I have been in daily expectation of reading in the Royal Gazette, some such *sterling address* as the following; but alas! my eyes have been turned to that hopeful quarter too long in vain, which obliges me to supply the vacuum here, in a fit of downright despair—now that I read in the Courier many such sentiments as these. Napoleon is down, it is true, but the principles and *people* of France must be *levelled* with the dust also, or Jacobinism will inevitably be the order of the day all over Europe.

To His Royal Highness the PRINCE REGENT of the
 United Empire.

WE, the dutiful and truly loyal subjects of your venerable Sire, our legitimate king, viz.—The Ministers of the *Gospel of Peace*, the Elders of the Church of Scotland, and all the members of the Bible, Missionary, *Humane* and other *benevolent* Societies in these devout realms, approach the throne with sentiments of the most profound respect, and lively attachment to the *illustrious Family* who now sway the sceptre of the British empire. In this we recognize the *Glorious Revolutionary principles* which first paved the way for your Royal Highness' ancestors to that Crown, which we fervently pray, to the King of kings, may long be worn by the Royal House of Brunswick, for the general liberty, welfare, happiness, and protection of a brave and free people. Deeply impressed with such sentiments and solicitous to *discharge* in a *conscientious* manner, the

sacred duties we owe to our God, our fellow-creatures, and our gracious Sovereign, permit us, Most Magnanimous Prince! with becoming deference, to state, for your Royal Highness' very serious consideration, the following reflections. We can no longer, as true Christians, and faithful subjects, reconcile many of the passing events, and sanguinary persecuting scenes on the Continent, in which his Majesty's Government has lately taken so large a share, with either our religious principles, as the followers of a Saviour, who enjoined peace and good will among all mankind on earth, or with those very political doctrines, which have hitherto, by the blessing of Almighty providence preserved the succession unimpaired in your august person: Principles that militate against every claim which might otherwise be urged and supported by any hereditary Pretender in Europe, whose rights, on that plea were long ago cancelled by the united voice of the British Nation, which freely elected a Dutchman to guard them and their posterity, against a regal hereditary tyrant in James II. Such inconsistencies in political practice, as the shameful transfer of free Christian souls, like passive droves of black sheep, on the Continent; the revival of the Inquisition, religious persecution, and the replacing of Louis on the French throne, *vi et armis* of foreigners against the will of the people, and many other equivocal, but portentous signs of the times, all conspire to make us, at last, come candidly forward, like faithful pastors, and honest men, earnestly to beseech your Royal Highness to ponder upon these weighty remarks in your own truly noble breast, before our numerous fellow citizens, and peaceable flocks become seriously discontented with their rulers or ourselves.

We must reluctantly confess thousands of them are losing both their fleece and skins, by a heavy taxation, to support, what many of them now consider, both an unnecessary and an unprincipled warfare; and we certainly tremble for the baneful consequences, should it be protracted much longer, more especially as the very same opinions, which consign France, bound hand and foot over to Louis, might just-

tify the immediate reduction of America to the Royal authority of our legitimate Sovereign, provided the whole of our powerful Continental Allies could be persuaded to join us as effectually as they and we have espoused the interests of the present French monarch, since we cannot easily reconcile unsuccessful rebellion with treason, in one hemisphere, while in another, its more auspicious precursor, would indignantly repel such a calumny on Might, there paramount to Right, though we are constrained to controvert this doctrine, as not always being, in our humble belief, altogether evangelical.

Having by this earnest prayer and petition, we trust, convinced every *unbelieving malcontent* in the three kingdoms, that we do stand *more in awe of our God*, than our King, we flatter ourselves that our most gracious Prince will *intuitively* perceive, in this frank declaration of *our present fears* to the throne, a clearer demonstration of our *sincere wishes for its stability and true glory*, than in any false or fulsome *oblation of Hope* on the altar of a Court, while thousands around us, are sinking with *fiscal exactions* under absolute despair. In the conviction at least of meriting, if not applause, a gracious pardon, for this unfashionable intrusion, from your Royal Highness' reflecting and tender heart, for all the loyal children of your and their pious, venerable and afflicted Father, we shall ever pray as in duty bound, &c. &c. &c. &c.

That the above may not be wholly lost to the present generation or their offspring, I shall sign it, if even left alone, in the humble capacity of a subscriber to the Edinburgh Bible Society, and several charitable institutions in this City; though, for this also, I should run the risk, with Major Cartwright, of being stigmatized again in the *Correspondent*, with that brand of *notoriety*, which every prudent *Nicodemus* is so dexterous at clapping *in the dark*, on the bold front of the active and manly mind of any *Nathaniel*, which does not shrink from performing good works, even in the open day. For the pending Address in my own name, though I need not expect to become either a Baron or a Baronet, I cannot escape being at least dubbed a *simple Knight errant*, or rather his man

Sancho, as a *silly Sawney*, not quite so expert in the sublime art of *boeing*, or the more profound science of *buttering, a priori*, or *posteriori*, illustrious personages, Royal Dukes, &c. as the numerous Sir Pertinax MacSycophants of the present day: The whole corps of those gentry, who *conscientiously* merit this *red night-cap* are most welcome to *fit their* several noddles from my *home-spun* assortment: It will readily embrace all the charming variety of great heads, little heads, block heads, thick heads, light heads, round heads, dunder heads, fat heads, rough heads, broad heads, white heads, long heads, flat heads, grey heads, bald heads, *soft* heads, hard heads, blubber heads, wrong heads, addle heads, calf heads, leaden heads, little heads, scabbed heads, hammer heads, boss heads, monkeys heads, ass heads, sheeps heads, hogs heads, *num-skulls*; in short, every *caput mortuum* in the empire, which, without any other qualification, is ambitious of bearing a discriminative honour, long ago, perhaps more justly conferred on the noted *piece of good beef*, ycleped a *Sir Loin*.

Being clearly convinced, from consulting and comparing all the political intelligence I could acquire, from the most discordant sources, that the war which has now raged, with ungovernable fury, for nearly thirty years, was indelibly stamped, in its origin, progress, and consummation, as a dreadful contest between regal tyranny, and popular freedom, I could not avoid making, *en passant*, some serious reflections, while the apparent apathy, and perverted notions of the bulk of my fellow-subjects, both puzzled and alarmed me.

It did not escape my observation, that as long as the French were abject slaves to their Grand Monarch, the British nation, in all possible forms and ways, insulted, abused, and ridiculed them for *their base servility*, and submission to a *vile race of despots*. So high was this arrogant spirit carried here, and so low had that martial people degenerated in our opinion, that it was no uncommon boast, that one *John Bull* would gulp up, in fair field, half a dozen of the white-livered *frogs* of France; nay, our gallant of-

scers wisely thought, while they laughed in their sleeve, that this was a joke which never should be considered equivocal, at least, by the common British soldier. Since that period, however, we have both seen and felt, even lately at Waterloo, that the *arm of a French freeman* is not quite so impotent, as the hands of the miserable croakers who formerly submitted without a struggle, to their own Gallic yoke, were supposed to have been.

But mark the ungenerous inconsistency of the British nation, when they permitted an insidious Government to prejudice and arm them against that *very race of men*, which they had reproached for their *base* submission to absolute authority, the moment that nation resolved to become, if possible, at all hazards, as free as our own. We most inconsiderately lay the *whole blame* of the revolutionary *horrors in France*, on that devoted people, without ever candidly asking ourselves, what, *cæteris paribus*, our ancestors might have done at the first rejection of the Stuarts as the Sovereign? or at *their final expulsion*, had all *their contemporary monarchs* attempted to *treat the English nation*, as the *Despots of Continental Europe* have behaved to France since the commencement of her struggles for liberty, to the present day. It is both possible, and probable, that *English patriotism* would have been *as vindictive* and irresistible, against *domestic and foreign foes*, as ever the French have been at the worst period of the revolutionary storm; nay, the lava of such an explosion might have rolled with irresistible fury over Europe, to the remotest shores of Asia, Africa, and America, where, even without such an internal commotion and impulse, many indelible traces of our victorious arms, are so far legible at this day, as not to require the pen of the ephemeral historian.

No man of common penetration can yet be in any doubt of the real motives for the continuation of this war, however veiled in its progress by persevering resistance to the *republican* Robespierre, or the *Imperial* Napoleon, now that the whole catastrophe is fairly wound up, with the grace of three hundred thousand foreign bayonets to secure Louis' *divine right* to rule over his subjects, *volens*

volens, and moreover, to alarm the British nation, lest the Glorious Revolution of 1688 should be totally eclipsed by *some opaque doctrines*, much more congenial with our *New Era*. If the usurpation of Napoleon did give a mortal blow to the liberty of France, and a powerful impetus to universal despotism, which certainly was the case, for a time, we may rest assured, that his abdication and banishment must resuscitate the dormant freedom of the French, and other nations, much sooner and more powerfully than the potentates, who have thus excluded their best friend, in one respect, from *their regal society*, are perhaps aware of: In that auspicious event, the victory of Waterloo will prove doubly precious to every *loyal* English heart, which, in spite of all *rectilinear dogmas* in France or Hanover, must always *beat in unison* with our own *Glorious Revolution*, which ousted a *despot*, to make room for the venerable but *limited King*, now upon the throne of these realms, on such a constitutional basis, that none but *unprincipled traitors* to their Prince and Country, could wish to see it altered or infringed, in any serious respect whatever. In short, the *Glorious Revolution*, and the *Royal House of Brunswick* are *national twins*, which, like *man and wife*, nobody but a *base villain* could wish to *disunite* and "long may they swim on the smooth tide of time most prosperously together," shall be the chorus of a *Loyalist's* song for ever. He cannot, with such convictions, most undutifully become a *recreant Loyalist*, and thus, *ipso facto*, espouse the *proscribed cause* of the *Sardinian race*; no, nor even tacitly approve of an *Emperor* over the British Isles, though we have, perhaps, got half that length, through the means of an *Imperial* Parliament, which lately was most gracious to the people's universal and persevering outcries against the Corn Bill, though it might have no objections to hail our Sovereign as Emperor and King.

One observation escaped me, which should have appeared in page 3, when tracing loyalty to its source, and it is this. That the word *legitimate* flows from a similar fountain, viz. *lex law*, and seems now adopted as implying some *faint traces* of divine impression or *grace*, though I can see no other reason than a fanciful

transposition of *grex, lex, rex*, or a *latent affinity* between those significant monosyllables, which I have not yet been able to analyse, in their relative bearings to each other. The repugnance which *freemen* have always evinced to every thing indicative of *bondage*, even in a *virtuous sense*, is strikingly illustrated in the opposition of *natural* to *legitimate*, when applied to progeny, as the result of *human will* unrestricted by a *social check* on *natural liberty*. A careful review of what has been said of *loi, lex, &c.* must puzzle the ablest casuist to render Louis, the present hereditary King of France, through *the grace* of some hundred thousand foreign bayonets, in one sense, a *legitimate monarch*, though nobody has yet branded him as a *natural son* of the Royal stock in his *adjoining* kingdom.

While in the very focus of my radical functions among these pages, I was one day alarmed by the shining effulgence of an Edinburgh luminary, bearing vertically on my devoted crown, and so powerful were the radii of this sublunary burning glass, which concentrated on my exposed pericranium, as to make me sadly afraid of an immediate explosion, not less tremendous than the *Gun Powder Plot*, conscious of having long been denounced as a *walking barrel of fulminating materials*, which a *carrotty pow*, viz. a *red headed man* even could hardly approach, with safety to his self or fellow citizens. But before we proceed to the *denouement* of this catastrophe, I must introduce my readers cautiously to it, through the following wicker work.



From the Edinburgh Correspondent.

The political notoriety of Major CARTWRIGHT, of which we by no means envy him the possession, should not have been extended, through our means, by the mention of his arrival in the Metropolis of Scotland, had he been pleased quietly to pass through the city. But he has chosen to issue gratuitous tickets of admission to a lecture upon the British Constitution. By this means he last week

assembled a crowd in M'EWAN's rooms. We have not been informed of the particulars of the harangue. Those whom we happened to see, who were present, were near the door, to which his voice did not audibly extend. But there can be no doubt that his sentiments were such as we have seen often expressed in the public prints, particularly in the letter which lately appeared under his signature, proposing the supposed perfect representation of the people of France as a model of imitation for the inhabitants of our Islands. Whether the Major's rhapsodies are the product of a disordered mind, or of a turbulent spirit, we hoped, for the honour of our city, which certainly stood in no need of instruction from Major CARTWRIGHT—a city in which the higher orders are educated in a superior degree, and the meanest mechanic is not illiterate—we hoped, that the attempt to communicate any spark of the Major's spirit would prove abortive.—But there are among us, few indeed, we believe, but some, whose sentiments accord with those of their profound instructor. There soon appeared placards put up on conspicuous places of the streets, inviting a meeting of the inhabitants of the city *who paid taxes*, in order to take into consideration the measure of parliamentary reform. Two or three hundred people actually met in the Fives Court, Rose-street, when the chair was taken by a gentleman, whose name we suppress, because, while we value him in private life, we blush for his public conduct. He addressed the meeting at considerable length, and concluded his harangue with a series of resolutions as the ground-work of a petition to Parliament. The resolutions were seconded by Captain JOHNSTONE, a person who was marked upwards of twenty years ago, for his activity in promoting that chimera under the name of “Liberty and Equality,” which has occasioned the deluge of European blood which has flowed for the greatest part of the intermediate period.—We have said we know not whether Major CARTWRIGHT's political whimsies proceed from a disordered mind or from a turbulent spirit. Captain JOHNSTONE's conduct on the present occasion, we shall leave likewise in suspense; but as for our fellow citizen,

whose name we have suppressed, we are ready at once to acquit him of all disorderly intention. We entertain much higher respect for his heart than for his head.—On all occasions, when we see our fellow citizens called together, in order to represent their grievances to the legislature, the first sentiment which arises in our mind is exultation in the freedom of our Constitution, which admits of that invaluable privilege; but let us not abuse our rights; let us prove that we are worthy of them. Those who call us together without an adequate cause, incur a heavy responsibility. It is our duty to understand well the object of our petitions, and the consequences of granting what is prayed for, before we subscribe them. The subject of the late deliberations in the Fives Court has been long ago ably canvassed. Let us be masters of what has been already done relative to it. We will discover that when it shall be proper, consistently with the state of Europe, to revive the question of parliamentary reform, there will be no need of a lecture from Major CARTWRIGHT, or of resolutions moved and seconded by such personages as we have mentioned, in order to accomplish all the reform in our mode of representation in Parliament, which any sound-minded and well disposed citizen could desire, or would hold to be practicable.

On Friday last the celebrated Major CARTWRIGHT delivered a lecture on the Constitution of England and Parliamentary Reform, at the Queen's Head inn, Newcastle. As no money was received for admittance, and the only qualification was the payment of taxes, (which few persons escape) the audience completely filled the room, and of course highly applauded the disinterested lecturer. In the evening a few persons met and formed a penny a week society, for the purpose of furthering the views of the Major, by petitioning on the subject. We understand that he is on a tour for the purpose of collecting petitions, which he hopes by their overwhelming number, will have some effect on the alleged corruption, against which his whole life has been passed in hostilities. The Major is a great admirer of the Saxon times and customs. He contends that every

man ought to be armed, in order to prevent riots, rebellion, and foreign invasion; and that the people ought not only to elect members of parliament, but also the sheriffs!—*Newcastle paper.*

When we mentioned lately, the arrival of an itinerant lecturer upon politics among us, we considered that we had bestowed all the attention upon so unimportant an incident that it merited.—But we have received a letter subscribed JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST, who designates himself the *agent* of Major CARTWRIGHT, covering a letter from the Major addressed to us in order to be published.—The Doctor threatens us if we refuse! Is the learned gentleman ignorant of the sentiment which *impotent* threats invariably excite? We do refuse. Those, however, who wish to see the letter, will find it in the *Caledonian Mercury* of last Saturday. It contains animadversions upon our former paragraph above alluded to. There was nothing in the very general remarks which we then made which could render it incumbent on us to publish a reply from Major CARTWRIGHT. He could only seek thereby to give publicity to his own doctrines, an object which he can accomplish by other means. Dr. BORTHWICK GILCHRIST now announces himself so prominently as the agent of Major CARTWRIGHT, that we no longer consider it to be incumbent on us, in delicacy to him, to conceal that it was to him we alluded formerly as the chairman of the meeting in the Fives Court. We have observed in some contemporary newspapers, that this meeting is said to have excited a strong sensation in Edinburgh. This is entirely inconsistent with appearances. The Major and his agent seem to wish that the recollection of the thing should continue; but it was only a few of the inhabitants of this populous city who ever thought of it at all, and even they seem to have forgotten it. The city was never more tranquil in every respect. Indeed, the influence, the principles, and the reach of talent, of those who have made the attempt to disturb us, were not such as to induce us to entertain any dread upon the subject.

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*Inserted after rejection by the Edinburgh Prints, into the  
Glasgow Chronicle.*

*To the Editor of the Edinburgh Correspondent.*

SIR,

HAVING in one of your late Numbers, conceived it *your duty*, to attack the *head*, if not the *heart*, of my venerable *Friend*, Major Cartwright, give me leave to hand you *the enclosed*, as that Gentleman's *Reply*, to your animadversions on his conduct and *character*. As far as regards myself, I shall, *pro tempore*, rest satisfied in the conviction, that *you* cannot as an *honest man*, refuse t e *Major's remonstrance* an early insertion in that *very paper*, which has attempted to *misrepresent* and *calumniate* a most respectable individual, with whose *friendship* I am highly honoured, and for whom *I shall ever cherish* the most profound esteem, *in spite of* the amicable *shield* which you have *uninvited* held in the mean time, over my humble head and name.

For this generous defence of a *heedless talker* in Edinburgh, much more disinterested than the popular mantle lately thrown over *Wilson* the harmless London *Walker*, you shall receive my most cordial acknowledgments at full length, as soon as the rude hands which are now strangling the Edinburgh press, permit me to address *them* and *you*, through a Glasgow speaking *trumpet* or hautboy, not quite so tame in its notes as the small *Newshorns* or *Jews' harps* of this good Town.

On the score of the *Cardinal Sin*, called *Notoriety*, of which you accuse us, I have but a few words more to say at present, that as some of those *Great Men* whom you no doubt *admire*, have often evinced much more inclination to become *Notorious*, than either Major Cartwright or myself, you cannot therefore *blame us* for imitating, at a humble distance, so glorious an example,

though not yet permitted to carry the precedent or *precept*, even so very high as the *noon day sale* of seats in *Parliament*.

In the event of your *denying admission* to the *Major's* and my own *Letter*, have the goodness honestly to return *both* for insertion into the first free paper we can find in this city or *Kingdom*, as I for one, *am determined* to proclaim among my Countrymen, the expressive words of Themistocles, "Strike, but hear me!"

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your very obedient Servant,

JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST.

Nicolson Square, }  
11th Oct. 1815.

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Inserted in the Glasgow Chronicle, after having been rejected by the Correspondent.

To the Editor of the Edinburgh Correspondent.

DURHAM, 9th Oct. 1815.

SIR,

In your paper of the 7th, you have allowed yourself to offer for the entertainment of your readers, certain *insinuations* tending to convey an unfavourable opinion, of my understanding and my character. I therefore trust, that through your sense of justice, I shall be allowed to offer to the same readers, a few reasons tending to shew, that *insinuations* are not, to such an end, quite so proper as arguments and facts.

Deal only in fair argument and real fact, and then, Sir, so far as my understanding and character are concerned, you shall be at full liberty to say whatever you please; as I do not in any

case, hold truth to be a libel, nor will I on that ground, ever appeal to law as a shield against injury.

You say that you "know not whether Major Cartwright's *political whimsies*, proceed from a disordered mind, or from a turbulent spirit."

You also say that you "have not been informed of the particulars of the harangue," which he last week delivered to "a crowd in M'Ewan's rooms."

Had you, Sir, been present, you would have perceived that his object was to correct the mischiefs, flowing from the "political whimsies," of those who prefer a Parliamentary Representation, made up, as Mr. Burke says, "of forms and types, and shadows and fictions of law," to such a Representation as must result from free election according to the Constitution, as soon as that Constitution, shall be practically enjoyed.

You have likewise, Sir, spoken of a letter which lately appeared, "under his (the Major's) signature, *proposing the supposed* "perfect Representation of the people of France as a *model of* "imitation, for the inhabitants of our Islands."

Had you, Sir, either given due attention to the *context*, in that "letter" as you call it, or known "the particulars of the harangue" above mentioned, you would, I presume, have avoided this erroneous statement.

Having, more than eight and thirty years ago, actually "*proposed*" for *England*, Representation proportioned to Population, I had no need to go to *France* for instruction on this subject, wherefore, the words which you allude to, are only indirectly instructive, being intended as mere apostrophe and expostulation, which quoting them, will shew. They are as follows,

"Shall then, the people of Britain behold the French Nation, "left by their conquerors in possession of a real Representation, "equalized in due proportion to the population of her departments, and remain insensible to her own degradation, under "an insulting *mockery*, defrauded of the substance of Repre-

“vention, by those Monopolists of suffrage, the patrons of “*Rotten Boroughs*, and the holders of *County superiorities*?”

You tell your readers, that, “we will discover that when it shall be *proper*, consistently with the *state of Europe*, to revive the question of Parliamentary Reform, there will be no need of a lecture,” &c. But, what a Reform in our own domestic polity, which is essential to justice, to the very existence of our liberties, and to the security of our property, against arbitrary taxation, has to do “with the *state of Europe*,” we have yet to learn; for you have not had the kindness to explain the connection or dependance. Before we proceed thus to repair the dilapidated fortress of our own freedom, are we to wait until the *Venus de Medici* have regained her old apartment at *Florence*? Until the *Apollo* have travelled back to *Rome*? And until the famous *Horses* caper again on their former pedestals at *Venice*? Or for what else, in the *state of Europe*, are we to postpone the doing of our own necessary work at home?

Giving you credit for not having a “*disordered mind*,” I wish, Sir, you would have the goodness to indicate in what particular “*state of Europe*,” it may “be proper,” to mind our own business; and by what time you think we may hope to set about it.

If, Sir, in your judgment, I labour under “a disordered mind,” and am possessed with “a turbulent spirit,” I see not how those who agree with me in opinion and conduct, and they are many, can escape the same imputations, nor how it comes to pass, that you have not adduced any one argument, nor stated any one fact, in justification of your insinuations.

As your readers might very possibly have some curiosity on these points, it seems somewhat extraordinary, that you make not a single attempt to satisfy them. You might with great truth, have accused us of maintaining that “the House of Commons, as now appointed, doth not in any Constitutional “or rational sense, represent the Nation.” We, in our defence,

could only have asked, "Is this a melancholy truth, or is it a *political whimsy*?"

You might truly have charged us with declaring, that the "people have an undoubted right to representation co-extensive, at the least with direct taxation." Is this again a truism, or is it a "*political whimsy*."

You might also have proved us to have said, that "the people have a rightful claim to an equal distribution of such Representation." We can only again ask, Is this truth and justice, or is it a "*political whimsy*."

Neither can we deny, that we have pertinaciously asserted, that "the Nation is entitled to Parliaments of a continuance according to the Constitution, namely, not exceeding *one year*." Is this, Sir, a grave and rational question, worthy of a grave and rational answer, or is it like the rest, "*a political whimsy*?"

Are these, Sir, "the Major's rhapsodies," which you consider as "the product of a disordered mind, or of a turbulent spirit?"

Unless, Sir, you drop *insinuation*, which is a very foul figure of speech, and speak plainly and soberly to these points, your readers will have reason to think, that you have not any very high respect for *their* understandings.

(Signed,)

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

My candid readers, may now be enabled to judge between me and the wiered sisterhood of the Correspondent, who some days after the Major's manly reply to their feeble assault on his principles and character, cautiously kept their tiny horns within the shell of an obscure print, till another snail equally insignificant, brought up a battering ram on its back to their aid, all the way from New-

castle. In common life, it is no bad maxim to put one's *best foot* foremost, but when *both* happen to be *cloven*, the next best plan is to substitute the first *blockhead*, which comes in the way, as no despicable *football* in such a *chance medly*, as that of *libelling* a person *by name*, with the dirty hands of an *unknown calumniator*. Good master advocate for *public tranquillity*! do bring forward in the first court of justice you please, an indictment for *sedition* against either the Major or *myself*, that we may clearly see who is the minor in point of proof, and whether you are really ashamed of your scurvy calling, or such as it is, the whole profession be not apprehensive, that your avowed name will rather exhibit the *deep sealead* of Truth, than the apparent *buoy*, which an *honest man* would boldly throw out above so *noble a sheet anchor*. Had we dared thus to vilify any of your *royal corps nominally*, as public *fire-brands*, whose impotency alone prevented their setting this good town on fire, what would have been our portion?—Go, Sir, and ask the still independent honest souls, who are numerous enough in this city, even debased as it is, to save themselves and it from the scorn and contempt of one true-blooded Englishman, and both Major Cartwright and myself shall require no other shield, for our good names, thus wantonly branded and defamed by an anonymous assassin.

Fair play, a stranger to all servile tools,
 When sapient knaves assault two honest fools,
 In vain may whisper in each grated ear,
 Why not on such a stage thyself appear?
 And like the gallant Crichton, nobly boast
 A name, which stands alone, itself an host.
 "Worth makes the man, the want of it the fellow,
 "And all the rest is leather and prunello.
 "A wit's a feather, and a chief a rod;
 "An honest man's the noblest work of God."
 If I must fall, here let me earnest pray,
 That I may perish in the face of day,

And not from some *ignotus* feel the blow,
Which hurls me headlong to the shades below.
Let name for name, and face for face be found,
With pen, ink, paper, all displayed around,
That he alone may fear, who stands on slippery ground.

}

This *ignoramus* Gentleman, for aught I know to the contrary, may be some spare greyhound, long in pursuit of several *state Bonis*, in all the putrid sluices about the place, or even now hunting after a spare bone or two at the doors of those *guzzling* bankers, whom Cobbet describes as *fattening* on the existing war. Though he may furnish a pretty *tough skin* for the *gross flesh* of corruption here, I suspect he is not possessed of either *sinew, nerve* or *bone* enough, to set the *stinking carcase* erect on its legs again, merely by a cowardly cut at two men more independent than himself, or at all events who are less fearful of appearing in *propria persona*, at the tribunal of an *insulted public*, for final decision on their *guilt* or *innocence*, now they can be fairly heard in their own vindication, as the case is happily, through the liberty and liberal spirit of the Glasgow Press, at last in detail before them.

Suppose an *advocate* at the *Scottish bar*, were called on to defend *his clients*, like an upright *clever* lawyer by *his own talents*, before one of the Judges, were thus to address his Lordship.

My Lord! If you will only *permit me* to traduce, muzzle and gag, *ad libitum*, the whole opposite party, including *their spokesmen*, who are opposed to me and my clients, I shall engage, by *my own silence*, to prove, that justice is on our side, through the voluntary organs of speech, in a *brother pleader*, who has most seasonably posted all the way from the English borders, to argue the whole plea much better than I can. How would a grave Senator, in a full becoming wig, stare at such an oration? might not the orator expect the many-tailed emblem of wisdom and equity would be dashed at his brazen face, for presuming to form so very humble an opinion of the modern Minos' judgment, and might not, in the language of Major Cartwright, even the whole Court conclude, that the planet-

struck barrister, entertained no very high respect for *their* understanding, however much he might praise his own skill in astrology.

The community have now some right to say, whether the provocation I received, from a covered assault on my weak head, under the mask of a hypocritical eulogium on my heart, has been equalled or not, by the impotency of my humble talents to protect myself, from so learned and grave looking an owl, as the one now perched on the servile columns of an Edinburgh Print, to hoot Major Cartwright and me, for two *turbulent, seditious, but imbecile incendiaries*, from whose daring and *treasonable* designs, the good city had been miraculously preserved, in a state of perfect *peace and tranquillity*, by the annexed royal screams of that ominous bird, thus seated aloft on the municipal watch tower of the city.

* "*Nisi Dominus frustra,*"

of which, for the sake of my Country readers, I shall give this paraphrastic version, besides the close translation in the note below.

We honest placemen, and place-hunting elves,
Are men of prudent feelings—for ourselves.
Unless we stab the Champions of Reform,
Our pensions all—must perish in the storm,
Which might, like gales, the foul air purify,
And life with health to all—but us supply.
For should the rotten system cease to thrive,
What cheese could keep state mites like us alive?
Then let us stifle this fair dawning light,
And doom the people to eternal night;
Yes, let them pay for proof—of our dear second sight.
Nisi nos domini frustra—(mus †)—all is o'er,
Jobs, bribes, snug pensions sink—to rise no more;

* The Latin motto of the Edinburgh arms.

If we ascendant Lords don't kill the Wright,
And Doctor too—our Day is changed to Night.

† This *mus* or mouse, is at least *one foot* too long, and therefore can prove nothing short of a *rat* at least, unless on the authority of a *Latin poet*, we should make the *mountain* or *Press in labour*, produce a *Sow*, after which every hunter's horn in the office shall be let loose; the moment we can place this *wild hog* fairly on the plain, and thus illustrate the Roman *equivoque* or pun,

"*Mus currit in Campo sine pedibus suis.*"

Quick! down with *Cart-wright* and his *Doctor's* mate,
 Shall they pretend to *mend* or *cure* that state?
 Which shelters us like *Tom Thumbs* in a pie,
 Wherein we live and move—nay, mean to die.
 Beneath one crust of *influence* so clever,
 A patent paste or puff call'd, "*fail me never*,"
 To clinch corruption's hopeful reign for ever.
 ' *Risum teneatis amici*.' Is this the plot?
 For which all hands must pay both scot and lot;
 Are these the bugs, lice, fleas, who spoil our rest?
 And damn Reformers, for a *lynx-eyed pest* *.
 Up! shake your sheets † till every — louse shiver,
 It must be done, and better late than never.
 Gods! shall such vermin always bear the bell?
 Which makes our paradise,—a perfect hell.
 To such infernal leeches,—why so civil?
 Blow down their bevy to their friend, the devil!
 Force both to leave behind their ill got store,
 A fair refund, and we shall ask no more,
 To crown our births in Constitution bay,
 With sweetest sleep by night, and work by day.
 Pleased, with our king, our liberty, and laws,
 Then honest men, not knaves, would gain applause.
 The State by them well steered, would safely glide,
 Fann'd by each breeze, and borne on time and tide.

* The successful hunting of such a brood in a *double state quilt* or *patent blanket*, is a much more arduous task, than to take a *single flea* by the cuff of the neck, and dust a little quack powder into *its eyes*, as the vender of that commodity, once advised an old woman to do with his recipe—She quaintly asked Mr. Solomon, if a good crack between her thumbs would not be easier managed, and equally effectual? The poor Empirick being confounded at the witch's sagacity, was forced to confess himself no conjurer, after trying his hand at a new more promising project, till it was also blasted by a Printer's devil, as stated in page 12.

† Alluding to the sheets or petition rolls, which are as terrible to the maggots and grubs in the Augean stable of corruption as the flag of death and defiance can possibly be to Reformers in the peril of a forlorn hope; no wonder

Our gallant ship with every sail unfurl'd,
 Would prove the pride and safe-guard of the world.
 Full fraught with richest blessings for the whole,
 Her march on ocean's breast, from pole to pole,
 Till winds no longer blow, and billows cease to roll.

}

It now remains to be considered, how far a *person* accused of *impotency*, really be proved *guilty* of the crime; but the *proof* ought not *in justice* to depend entirely on the *passive object* of assault, being in that state of *hopeless sterility*, which positively counteracts every *impression*, that could be made by the manly prowess of either physical or *mental fecundity*. "*Ex nihilo nihil fit*," and *Nemo* being neither man nor woman, though perhaps no despicable *Hermaphrodite*, I must not indeed be branded as *barren* upon so very *unpromising* a subject, whatever may be the issue of this essay. I certainly now may be allowed as a *Doctor* so far to prescribe for my suffering *Patient*, as to recommend an immediate

then, that the garrison take alarm and endeavour to frustrate every assault, by throwing over a shower of stink-pots among their first assailants. The particular animal alluded to in this line, is said by historians to have made a complete lodgment in the great Reformer's beard, better known among the priests, as *Julian the Apostate*, though a staunch Radical in many respects, to their cost. He never hesitated about the extirpation of the imperial colony, which infested his upper story or private capital, in spite of the predilection for its flowing appendage, which fell at once under the stroke of an ignoble shaver. Might we not imitate so brave a General's prudence, by a similar operation, at the *fag end* of our Constitution, where Rotten Borough *glow-worms* have long been making sad havock, even at the seat of honour, by *burrowing so deep* among the adjacent benches, that no spokesman, *prima facie*, can accurately mark the end of *their tails*, whatever a certain speaker once observed, when their *ugly heads* popt unexpectedly out, on the gaping multitude, in open court at mid-day, and became, though at first mere insignificant *fire-flies*, as notorious for their peculiar shining qualities, as the sun in his meridian splendour. Reform may, on the present occasion, be aptly compared to the heaving down or careening a vessel, whose bottom is infested with *barnacles* and other sub-marine reptiles, or *worms*.

appeal, like the Duchess d'Angouleme, to the nearest friendly Convent, that the *robust* Friars of the *sacred* Conclave may aid him or her (for the sex of my *malade* is still equivocal) in the production of some *Royal bantling* not quite *so degenerate* as its *Correspondent* Father. He will, it may be presumed, now very graciously admit of my referring to prior evidence, to prove that I have no sneaking propensities as coolers to the inflammatory disposition, with which he has, in this respect, very appropriately charged me. It is not the first time I have upbraided a *servile* Editor with neglect of *public duty*, though probably sanctioned therein by a superintending Government, much more despotic and irresponsible than any we have yet seen in this blessed land of liberty, and every good thing, especially for those dormant maggots, who progressively become the favoured *Aurelias* and gaudy *Butter flies* of a *free State*—flowing with milk and honey for every true believer in its present purity, whatever such busy bees, wasps, or hornets, as the Major and myself may ever expect from so prolific a cow, or her good easy mate John Bull, alias Jerry Sneak.

Some twelve years ago, a native fort in India was stormed and taken by the Company's troops, though in the terrible assault, several *heroic youths* prematurely fell in the service of their British Indian Lords and Masters. One of the *brave lads* happened to bear my humble name, and on the total suppression in the Government papers of the event and its fatal consequences, with respect to the *unnamed officers*, who fell *sword in hand* so gallantly in their defence; I must acknowledge, that the congenial blood of a *Gilakhrcest*

which impede her way through the sea, and thereby create much useless expence; to say nothing of the danger arising from without by such bloodsuckers, and within from the mice and rats that infest hulls of every kind for cheese-parings and candle ends, to the imminent danger of a thoughtless crew, on board such a sink of mortality and corruption, from which one fundamental or radical operation can alone extricate all hands safe and sound, to land them once more, without foundering at sea, or splitting on any hidden rocks, in high health, upon their native shore.

produced the subjoined effusion, to reanimate thus far the precious stream which flowed as a loyal sacrifice, unrecorded in *any other annals but—my simple song.*

AN ELEGY

On LIEUT. GILCHRIST, who was killed in India, in the honourable post of a brave Officer.

'Est hic, est animus lucis contemptor ; et istum

'Qui vita bene credat emi, quo tendis, honorem.'

VIRGIL.

Stop, gallant soldier ! why thus fly
The muse, who greets thee passing by,
And owns a *kindred* name ?
They who lament thy early doom,
In youth and virtue's fairest bloom,
Are not alive to fame.

Happy the man, whose death, like thine,
Secures above that bliss divine,
Which age may grasp in vain ;
Oh ! had I been a hero too,
And found a youthful grave like you,
*Unstained with one stain !

Though far above the *sordid page*,
Whence some *ignoble cynic's* rage
Hath torn thy *deathless plume* ;
Since *private right* is *public weal*,
Here let a *namesake's* honest zeal,
Replace it on thy tomb.

Let cold, insipid, *venal* lays,
Adore *mere rank* with *lying praise* ;
This sober task be mine,

* Alas ! I little thought then, that *my crying sins* in the torrid zone, were to be aggravated, by the red hot instrument of the College of Justice in a colder clime, which branded a Gilchrist, most unjustly, in pages 39 to 45 inclusive, as a despicable Suborner of witnesses in their *Judicial Court*, not less *infallible than profound*, in its discriminating knowledge of the real merits of any suit, made as plain as the A, B, C is, which will be found in these pages.

To crown an *humble warrior's* hears
 With every charm of *heartfelt verse*,
 And *truth's* majestic line.

What are proud titles? sounding names!
 The *bard indignant*, thus exclaims,
 Some *worthless chief* there lies;
 But here—to *sterling merit* yields,
 In glory's bright, *etherial fields*,
 Where *worthies* only rise.

Commanders! Generals! Colonels! all!
 When *virtue* bears an *Ensign's* pall,
 You are not half so high:—
 See *fancy's* animating flame,
 On *eagle's wings* salute the same
 A Marshal in the sky.

She there can view each glorious scar,
 Eclipse the mimic brazen star,
 Vice oft—wears here below:
 There—honour trophied shall appear,
 In spite of *Envy's* coward sneer,
 It is—it must be so.

To *British youths*, be valour giv'n,
 And *goodness*—richest gift of heav'n,
 Attend ye nobly brave!
 This is no *wayward madman's* dream,
 Lo! all the *springs of glory stream*
 Far—far—beyond the grave!

Who gains renown by *virtuous deeds*,
 Who for his king and *country* bleeds,
 At fate's almighty nod,
 Shall rise to prove the sacred plan,
 Which hails the soul of mortal man,
 An angel—or a god.

If so! shall *worms* insult the dead,
 Or rob a *stripling soldier's* head
 Of *laurels* dearly won?

No, no, the muse transplants them now,
 To flourish round—her hero's brow
 A bright—immortal sun.

Go, spirit! freed from human strife,
 Enjoy serene, eternal life,
 Unclouded with one tear,

Yes, Gilchrist—wipe that last away,
 For those who pine from day to day,
 Too long—benighted here.

Celestial cherub, pure and free!

He cannot weep, who envies thee

The breach—the time you fell:

Whose mind now hears thee smiling say,

Heav'n's clarion sounds; come! lead the way;

"Poor mortals!—fare you well!"



It is somewhat surprising that any writer in a Christian land, should endeavour to invalidate the soundness of particular doctrines, merely because they were enforced by itinerant lecturers, and men of despicable abilities, in the common estimation of the world. Can he possibly forget, that this is a two-edged sword, which may be made to cut in a double direction, without subjecting us to the imputation of arrogance, since we claim no infalibility of talent, though we may naturally feel anxious to employ the little, with which it has pleased providence to bless us, in the way most conducive to its general utility and our own improvement, either for private or public advantages. My considerate critic and accurate discriminator of other people's mental powers, seems desirous of suppressing those opportunities, which the collision of sentiment generally affords, for the more decisive proof of intellectual prowess in this or that individual, otherwise he would not have first entered the lists with Major CARTWRIGHT and myself, merely to shut his own press in a dastardly manner in our faces, against those very lucubrations and

slender endowments that he had so wantonly attacked. Having been driven from my native town, to obviate interruptions thrown in the way by delays or interception even of my communications with the free Press of Glasgow, where I now mean to reside till the Pamphlet be fairly published; it is out of my power to say what steps my friend Captain JOHNSTON, may take to vindicate his own good name, most unjustly defamed by an anonymous writer, in the most obscure print of the City. That he can repel the foul charges brought against him, like a man of honour, spirit, and parts, there can be no doubt, provided he be able to prevail on one single paper to insert his defence, without *paying* for it as a *regular advertisement*; which has been invariably the mode adopted by the Edinburgh publications, in all their dealings, with the persecuted Reformers, while in Glasgow they have met with, and I trust merited, more liberal treatment in every respect. People's minds must indeed be stultified to an incredible degree, if they do not remark how many columns of News, were gratuitously given about Bridges, Court-houses, Jails, Gibbets, Jubilees, Magisterial speechifications, Fulsome Panygerics, and reciprocal *Butterings*, Donations of Silver Cups, and Gold Snuff-Boxes, to say nothing of Grand Festivals and other social whimsies of the day, much about the period that half a dozen of lines, in an obscure corner of the same print, were sacrificed with a grudge, to Major CARTWRIGHT'S more disinterested, manly and rational pursuits. The French were a dancing, fiddling, singing, volatile, frivolous, thoughtless people, while most enslaved, and we are, in this instance, apparently running a dissipated race with them, lest they arrive at the *ne plus ultra* of national decline and degradation before us. Had the money to be squandered in one week, for threshing the air with various instruments, or squeezing it through natural and artificial pipes, been collected for those brave fellows, who for years have been buffetting another element in our defence, and firing some thing more sterling than air guns, the misapplication of talents, time, labour, and money, would not have appeared so invidious, nor would it have van-

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 Else every rat and mouse must foully get away.

}

In short, the typographical Pandæmonium was in such an uproar for the Doctor's grimalkin *lynx*, that I could hardly join the chase in full cry, time enough to prevent the dormouse slipping like an eel, or a pig with a well greased tail, through my fingers, while puss also scampered into a corner at the sight of such a number of *little Nics* as assembled, to the well known sound of the *Huntsman's Horn*, in pursuit of such a boar as a state prisoner, who had unaccountably left his brother *Thumbs* to enjoy their dose behind him. When we translate the Latin quotation in page 75, so—

A little mouse can scamper o'er the down
Without less nimble feet, as not his own :
The joke consists in this—it wants no Sow
To lend her feet to run, you have it now.

I may be granted this small citatory license,—

" Ecce Homo! currit in campo sine (or cum) pedibus suis,"

in its application to my Corresponding antagonist—

Behold the man or woman born to run!
The cutting gauntlet of reforming fun,
Comes out a mouse, wild hog, or cursed boar,
To every friend who knew him once before,
A harmless pleader at the Scottish bar,
O how unlike a blustering man of war !
Who from the watch tower sounds this dismal cry,
Curs! when you bark, that day—you surely die. }
To this horned Owl, the dogs with lifted legs reply,
As cats or kittens play with mice like you,
We mean to toss thee up to public view,
Till Uncle Toby's well known voice inspire
Our breasts with pity and humane desire.
Then go poor devil, I can plainly see
This world is wide enough for you and me,
But sin no more—lest a worse fate attend
The feeble hootings of your latter end.
One of the swinish multitude, you know,
Is bold enough to tell your Owlship so ;

Before he lets thee from his clutches fall
 Into the Dunciad Po—or Grand Canal, }
 Plamp—through the gaping crowd of the great Festival. }
 Though half drown'd as a rat, you still shall live,
 In Lang's immortal office *—I forgive.
 You there emblazoned in resplendent ore, }
 Shall shine the *Ecce Homo* evermore; }
 At 75, though but a *mus* or *sus*—ycleped a *boar*.

Both the venerable Major and myself having the Christian appellation of John, it will not require an extraordinary stretch of fancy, in either a bat or an owl, to treat us as a brace of *John Bull dogs*, of the true Sidney, Fletcher, and Hampden breed, who would scorn to lift our hands to any Prince Charles' puppy in the kingdom, whatever we might do with the attic effusion of our loyal understandings, when we come, *volens volens*, in contact, on such an occasion as the present.

Having at last discussed almost the whole of this intervenient narrative, we may, first glancing at pages 12 and 13, look back and reflect on some occurrences, which could not have been so easily adjusted before. Why the *Mercury* assumed the right of stamping a libellous label on my labours, as chairman of the cockpit meeting, is not for me yet to disclose, not being in the

* This indefatigable, *loyal printer*, may be, in one sense, at least, styled the *Franklin* of his age, from a judicious discrimination of the best and most innocent means of preserving and improving the rational freedom of his native country, by employing his press rather to give vent to reasonable complaints, than to stifle them into much more dangerous expedients than seasonable remonstrance or Petition. I am bound, in gratitude and justice, to recommend this worthy tradesman, as one of the most liberal and expert typographical man-midwives in the United Empire, for the safe and speedy delivery of every author, pregnant with useful intelligence to his fellow citizens, but which elsewhere might miscarry entirely, or produce a mere mole to guide people as blind as the production now described.

confidence of that rather *equivocal* divinity; but as *truth* is now no defence against *libel*, even admitting my writings to be actionable, I suspect the patron of thieves is at least as much obnoxious, (nay, more so,) to a prosecution on that score as myself, though I would not be fond of prosecuting to fine or judgment this son of Jupiter and messenger of the gods, 'till more certain, than I yet am, that Court favour might not go great lengths, in such a suit, to screen their own postboy. In sober sadness he had a limited right to publish his fears, though the papers communicated might not ultimately expose him to censure, witho it the smallest plea for deciding, "*ex cathedra*," so magisterially as he did against them. The consequence has been, that I was driven from my home to find a press in Glasgow, not so much alarmed as the printers in Edinburgh became, after seeing the *Mercury* so fearfully frozen, as to fall even below Zero, no doubt, at the frigid touch of some judicial *Torpedo*. Be this as it may, I have been most cruelly exposed to much domestic affliction and inconveniency, to say nothing of a menaced visit from certain *cognoscenti*, unless I threw my papers into the fire, and resolved to lead the life of a cool, contented *cit*, even should the *magistrates* of the town consign me to the *Cutty Stool*,* as the *amende honorable*, so justly due to their insulted dignity, for my daring to talk, write, print, think, hint, publish, or even dream any thing of Reform. The issue of one cause in the Supreme Court has proved altogether so unpropitious, that I am not fond of trusting a second on such precarious grounds, as a poor loyalist merely claiming *protection* there against the *scandalum magnatum*, *fama clamosa* or *mala fama*, of a *royalist*, however high my opinion may be of the equity, justice, and final decision of so pure a model of justiciary. That welcome boon, which

* Alias, the seat of repentance for illegitimate offspring, in the Kirk of Scotland, when people go there without saying the grace, or asking a blessing for such a freedom: but as I solemnly protest against one and all of the Heathen Gods for branding this brat of mine as a bastard, I appeal to the General Assembly, for a writ of legitimacy, in favour of my natural right as a freeman.

came many years ago piping hot from Paris, the grand nursery of *judicial astrology*, and many other sublime sciences, all of them, no doubt, highly favourable to the rights and liberties of the people in Scotland, who, in many a Solomon's estimation, are the happiest, if not the freest nation under the sun, moon, or stars. This opportune idea very naturally leads them to despise the privilege of jury trial in *civil causes*, as much more becoming the sagacity of their legitimate shepherds, than a mere silly flock of sheep, who might ignorantly, in this or other matters, become the *dupes* of any leader. To such an interesting theme we may advert before the conclusion of this work, as I also have a pending suit, still dangling for the last three or four years over my shoulders, though the expence already be more than the sum in debate. Being an action relative to a forgery upon me as a banker, I for one would prefer a common-sense jury of my countrymen and peers to all the learned judges or lords in the land, because I shall run less risk of the former sober folks forgetting their A, B, C, which is too grovelling a study for erudite senators, and I might suffer, as I have already done, from their total contempt of elementary jurisprudence, as that stage of the science which is far beneath their notice. In the former instance, my judge only transposed *C* and *D* to make the party mallet drive the nail into the right head in his estimation, because it was on the wrong side of politics, and I bear the blemish to this day, which, however fatal to my fame, has not yet bereaved me of life, for here am I all alive, and singing lustily out against *Jedburgh justice, that some good soul or other may still whitewash my character by a revision,

* This is a common phrase for hanging a man *first*, and trying the merits of the case *afterwards*, though not quite so bad as Edinburgh equity, which implies the tucking up *C* instead of *D* and *L*, which two last will certainly be found, by every impartial mind, which examines this work, much more deserving of this very honourable Garter than the culprit *C*, with all the *crosses*, he can exhibit in the course of the decennary *ordeal* in the place of his nativity, to which, as a political sinner, he has been subjected.

if not, a reversal of the damning sentence fully elucidated in pages 38 to 52 inclusive. As it is infinitely safer to prevent evils than to cure them, more particularly, when the pending mischief might be so serious, as to suspend me, the *Forgee* plaintiff *C*, instead of the *Forger* culprit *L*, by the neck, till dead, dead, by the same mistake, which I have so often deprecated, viz. that of a worthy Lord of Session only substituting, some years ago, one letter for another in his equitable verdict of guilty. Not a man on the face of the earth is able to demonstrate that *C* was the sinner, instead of *D*, on whom alone, in reason, truth, equity, law, and justice, the vengeance of the court should have fallen, but never upon an innocent Christian like me. Now if I happen to be hanged again in chains, through any abecedarean error in judgment, that the truth at the close of my forgery suit, may be known, *a priori*, to all men, I wish, while I am now here able, thus to state my own precognition, as no such tale can ever be told by me, *a posteriori*, when dead and gone, unless *Æolus* makes a whistle or harp of my bottom to play a funeral symphony or dirge in such sounds as these—

“ I am no vowel, that is very true,

“ So far may *I* be safe, as well as *U*;

“ How *C* comes here, each passing breeze must tell,

“ Jack Ketch mistook him for the letter *L*.”

The reader may laugh, if he pleases, at this *comedy of errors*, while I assure him it has been *no farce* to me, but should the *plot* begin to terminate in the *tragedy* above depicted, care shall be taken to furnish the public, in due season, with a true *dramatis personæ* that the whole *posse committatus*, in both causes, from the judge to the juggler, may dangle down the stream of time, in social chains together, that no one may hereafter have reason to exclaim in surprise—

Defend us! what a spectacle is there?

Not one good friend! for here hang several pair, }

Nay, with the flock, the devil's own, judge—fair!

And now distinguish,—if your noddle can,

The pigeon, hawk, and eagle—from the swan.

In criminal trials both the Jury and Judge often express their surprise, that the *terror of the Law*, and the certainty almost of an *ignominious death*, do not deter the *wretches*, who come before them, from committing *such atrocities*, as subject them to *condemnation* here, and a *more terrible judgment* hereafter. May not the martyrs to freedom and reform in every age, who are sometimes arraigned at a very fallible bar, with no small share of justice, often turn the tables on the bench and assize, in this manner. You certainly have been able to procure a verdict against us, *by secret ways and means*, which in our unhappy situation, it would be *needless to explain*, though from a *consciousness* of perfect *innocence*, we might have a right to express our *indignant astonishment*, that you have not heard with effect, the warning voice, which speaks intelligibly enough from the page of History, and here at least, should *thunder terrors to the guilty breast*, whether of the culprit, of his Judge, Jury, or accusers, leaving the *fiery responsibility* of the *last day* out of the question entirely. We learn from historians of *undoubted veracity*, both in our own and other countries, how iniquitous Judges, have occasionally been *flayed alive*, and their execrable hides absolutely taken to cover the *judgment-seat*, in order to remind their successors of *this fundamental truth*, that of all the *abominable monsters*, whose vile carcasses pollute the *air of heaven*, a corrupt and perjured Judge is the most *detestable*, in the sight and estimation of *God and man*. The very name of a Jeffreys rouses every feeling of interminable revenge to such a phrenzied pitch, that our nature under such *corrosive impressions* partakes more of the *cannibal* than the *Christian*.—So much for unconscionable Judges. Now for *Juries forsworn*: They, if possible, are still more diabolical than their deceivers, and have luckily for mankind, met with *their deserts* also in the *annals of Great Britain*, where the names of the *infernal scoundrels*, who sacrificed *honest and innocent* fellow subjects in former days, to the *will of a despot* on the throne, or a *hell-hound tyrant* on the tribunal of justice, are strung up in *terrorem* for ever. The *infamy* of such *miscreants*, stinks in every

slender endowments that he had so wantonly attacked. Having been driven from my native town, to obviate interruptions thrown in the way by delays or interception even of my communications with the free Press of Glasgow, where I now mean to reside till the Pamphlet be fairly published; it is out of my power to say what steps my friend Captain JOHNSTON, may take to vindicate his own good name, most unjustly defamed by an anonymous writer, in the most obscure print of the City. That he can repel the foul charges brought against him, like a man of honour, spirit, and parts, there can be no doubt, provided he be able to prevail on one single paper to insert his defence, without *paying* for it as a *regular advertisement*; which has been invariably the mode adopted by the Edinburgh publications, in all their dealings, with the persecuted Reformers, while in Glasgow they have met with, and I trust merited, more liberal treatment in every respect. People's minds must indeed be stultified to an incredible degree, if they do not remark how many columns of News, were gratuitously given about Bridges, Court-houses, Jails, Gibbets, Jubilees, Magisterial speechifications, Fulsome Panygerics, and reciprocal *Butterings*, Donations of Silver Cups, and Gold Snuff-Boxes, to say nothing of Grand Festivals and other social whimsies of the day, much about the period that half a dozen of lines, in an obscure corner of the same print, were sacrificed with a grudge, to Major CARTWRIGHT's more disinterested, manly and rational pursuits. The French were a dancing, fiddling, singing, volatile, frivolous, thoughtless people, while most enslaved, and we are, in this instance, apparently running a dissipated race with them, lest they arrive at the *ne plus ultra* of national decline and degradation before us. Had the money to be squandered in one week, for threshing the air with various instruments, or squeezing it through natural and artificial pipes, been collected for those brave fellows, who for years have been buffetting another element in our defence, and firing some thing more sterling than air guns, the misapplication of talents, time, labour, and money, would not have appeared so invidious, nor would it have van-

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wire works which cover the roof my house, are for their various tenants.

Their warbling throats, and the melodious notes of my nightingales, to the tune of whose song, in the morning my beard was generally shaven, afforded me that successive enjoyment, unknown even to principalities and powers below, which not only in part compensated me for the improvident expence that I had rashly incurred, but so far kept my tongue and pen away from the penalties that commonly pursue a *political free thinker*, or loquacious Reformer, in so very discreet a city as Edinburgh.

To my partiality for breeding birds, was superadded a species of domicultural *penchant*, which allowed me to pull scores of apples, from my bed-room windows, and soon gave my mansion more the air and appearance of a *grotesque bower*, or the hanging gardens of Babylon, than the *sombre domicil* of a *skin-flint* Banker: A new sight, certainly in this prudent place, and consequently the standing theme of violent condemnation, *malignant* censure, or qualified applause, according to people's diversified notions of rural taste, civic enjoyment, needless profusion, and economical expenditure. Few people could well conceive the real motive for so much apparent *fret work*, *madness*, or *folly*, in a persevering effort to soothe a broken heart and heal a *wounded spirit*, by the very expensive project of realizing *rus in urbe*, lest I might be worse employed, than even teaching my poor Starlings to sing out *Subornation* and *Seventy Pounds*, not having reached that length as a captive myself.

Though my whim gave employment to numerous tradesmen, afforded much innocent gratification to myself, and likewise preserved me from the political vagaries of an active mind, it exposed me successively to many severe mortifications, painful remonstrances, bitter reflections, and a number of stale sarcasms and gibes, such as getting *Cagey* in my old age, living in * *Burdy House*, being like

* This is a common expression for a place of *captivity*, *trial* and *condemnation* in Scotland, perhaps a species of *purgatory*, though I fancy its etymology is more connected with the French word *perdu*, than *bird*, and from my being one of the *Enfans perdus* in my native place, the name was perfectly appropriate.

the fool who *though* brayed in a mortar, would never learn wisdom, or a being who was too wise in his own conceit, to be any thing but a *blockhead* or a *madman* as long as he lived.

In short my fate seems to be always out of the frying pan into the fire, for I could please no one, and even it was often told me, that those very good friends, who affected to be delighted with the whole shew, took the first opportunity afterwards to ridicule my taste, and condemn me in the severest terms, to sneer at my unbounded expence, for a mere *whigmeleerie*, that every body laughed at, as well as at its projector, who could find no other mode of becoming *notorious* among the *grave citizens* and Royalists of Edinburgh: In general they have now a mortal dislike to Independent Whigs, or *Whiggamoors* of every description, though these were once termed the valiant defenders of liberty and property in Britain. The principles which regulated every measure at the Glorious Revolution, which seated the reigning family on the Throne, are now becoming so obsolete, that it is no wonder a humble disciple of such doctrines should prove equally obnoxious, and suffer even for his most innocent whimsies.

From this queer state of severe sufferings and anxiety, I was last year roused by repeated visits from several of the Union Canal projectors, who earnestly invited me to take some interest in, and management of that most useful enterprise, and although their importunities were resisted for a while, I, in an evil hour, broke again loose from my sequestered moorings, to be tossed to and fro on the heaving bosom of a once hopeful, but at present a hopeless Canal; unless the *Phoenix* now proudly rising from the ashes of the *Union*, may be, by a figurative licence of speech, treated as a species of Cuckoo, with a more promising offspring, these having been long ago deposited, *con amore*, in a well-feathered nest, by the mighty fowls of Gotham, and all their full fledged proxies, who foully wriggled out every golden egg of the Union covey, to make room for the *ova Majora anseris*, now hatching as regal swans or imperial eagles, of the most gigantic size, on the

Marjoram banks of Eden's purest stream. Though it would be absurd to load this pamphlet with all the voluminous correspondence, which occurred last year, it may nevertheless be necessary to reprint a few of the *leading features* and documents of the Union Canal's rise, progress and fall, connected as these are with the persecution I then underwent, as a *fire brand* among *water works* too mischievous for longer existence within a cool collection of decent, discreet men, like the Royal Merchant Company of Edinburgh, and as a suspected traitor to my king and country.

For the good of the community, I feel still inclined either to perch an Indian * parrot on each shoulder, or to fix one canal or other round the Magistrates' necks, as a kind of millstone, much more impressive and monitory, than the gold chains they wear, *pro bono publico*, and consequently much more likely to remind them of their precious pledge, on that score alone, to the citizens of Edinburgh, who had at the time raised the whole fund requisite for one subsidiary Canal at least, but were harshly driven out of Parliament, with their tail between their legs as Jacobins and Levellers, to make room for a very *Bob Major*, in that way, which like Aaron's rod, swallowed thus the other reptile in its mighty maw, till gorged—

From sea to sea, the hydra huge reclines,
On stone, lime, slate, moss, clay and latent mines,
Of richer ores, than ever grac'd Peru,
“*Credat Judæus Apella.*”—So will you,

* The faithful in Asia, firmly believe in the existence and office of the two Inquisitorial angels *Moonkir* and *Nukeer*, who perch on the shoulders of every *Moosulman's* corpse, as religious and moral Catechists, before the suspended soul can receive a passport to the celestial abodes of the blessed. A good talkative *Cockatoo* would not be a bad scheme even in this world, at each ear of those Rulers, who are apt to forget their former promises, because such sapient monitors, would alternately give a severe bite, should these organs of hearing remain long deaf to its reiterated cries of *Ca-Ca-Ca-nal*, or *Co-Co-Co-als*.

For now the reptile's cast skin drags along,
 Like wounded rattle-snake's among the throng,
 With alexandrine notes, to crown their *Slow worm's* song,
 See at his tail a blazing Comet rise!
 His bottom,* parrot, fountains two his eyes.
 That line which no dire incubus keeps down,
 Is one, on which true Union cannot frown,
 No!—all her sons at † Playfair's just appeal,
 Will give their funds for the great common weal,
 To help old Forth to wed his sister Clyde,
 When fairly joined by Fathers Time and Tide.
 The knot is tied,—we sound the cheering blast,
 Auld Reekie smokes her Grand Canal at last,
 And shall in spite of Dukes and Devils hold it fast.

The object of the proposed five feet Union Canal, (besides the immense advantages to Edinburgh and the intermediate country,) so far as regards both Leith and its trade, is to give facility, regu-

* Rennie's line runs over beds of this species of coal so remarkable for its luminous crepitation, that it is sometimes termed the candle coal, though I conceive it deserves a more complex appellation than either Parrot or Candle. I am not certain if the name Parrot has been taken from the prattling of that loquacious biped, as descriptive of this mineral, though it has a better title to fulminating, meteoric coal, producing continued peals of cracks, with a flame like lightning, and occasional puffs of wind, though seldom so blue, as one might expect from such a black substance, and in such a place.

† This does not allude to the learned and worthy Professor of that name, but to a Gentleman who long ago proposed to Government a Grand Canal that would have proved infinitely more useful than the Caledonian Canal, which was at that time preferred to Mr. Frazer's, who has published a very interesting work on the subject, that I would strongly recommend to the attention of all my readers. This able and intelligent Gentleman, is raising subscriptions for his original plan, modified by existing circumstances, and as his operations will probably be emancipated from the *night-mare* load of a heavy corporation on his breast, I trust that one and all of the Union Subscribers will support Mr. Frazer, if on an impartial examination, his line and measures stand the test, to which every honest man will like him cheerfully submit.

larity, and cheapness, to the conveyance of goods between Leith and Glasgow, in place of the present expensive system of land-carriage. This object will be obtained by the establishment of regular passage-boats for goods, by which any greater or smaller quantity may be carried through the whole distance between Leith and Glasgow, in twelve hours.

Carrying the Canal to Leith by Locks, whether of the depth of five or eight feet, has the insuperable objection, in point of enormous expense prematurely incurred; and the lands through which it would require to be made are such, as, it is supposed, no Act of Parliament could be obtained to enable a Canal to be cut through them. The detention of the vessels also, in passing through *twenty or thirty Locks*, would be so great, that operative carting in the usual way would be much preferable. Besides, it is well known, that after a vessel *does* arrive at Leith with a general cargo, the goods must be carted from it to the different trading vessels and warehouses; a process of loading and unloading, which alone forms the worst part of land-carriage.

Port Dundas forms the nearest point of approach, from the Monkland and Great Canal to Glasgow, which on an average is nearly a distance of two miles. This has continued for twenty years, and although this intercourse by mediterranean water, with the second commercial town in Britain be astonishingly great, from the East, still the intelligent merchants of that flourishing and populous city, have never once seriously thought of any such preposterous project, as locking these Canals down to the town. They very justly observe, that if goods are to be carted at all, the merely going one mile farther is of no moment, and no human ingenuity could conduct a canal to every citizen's door, in towns like either Edinburgh or Glasgow; and though the number of locks between Port Dundas and the centre of Glasgow, would not be one half of those required between Leith and Edinburgh, they would never be mad enough to incur so absurd an expense. To put the alternative choice of cartage, and a passage by water and lockage beyond the shadow of a

doubt, in any rational mind, I need hardly mention, that Baltic and other Eastern cargoes are daily unloaded at Port Dundas, thence carted to Glasgow, instead of the loaded vessels following the Canal downhill track, through locks to the Clyde, and thence back again by the river to the town, though wind and tide might often favour their return.

From what has been said it is evident, that the connexion between the Union Canal and Leith will be carried on at a much cheaper rate, and in a more eligible manner, by means of a rail-road, which may be made either for waggons or for common carts, and can be laid along the south edge of Prince's Street, and down the edge of Leith Walk, at little cost, without requiring an Act of Parliament, and without the expense of purchasing land. This would, besides, be of infinite advantage to Leith and Edinburgh, from the opportunity which it would afford, of conveying every description of land-carriage and goods, occasioning also a considerable saving in the expense of maintaining the present road; while coals and goods would be shipped as cheaply and expeditiously at Leith, from the proposed basin at Main-Point, as if the Canal were carried down to Leith by Locks. If, however, from any unforeseen occurrence, it should ever be thought expedient to extend the Union Canal to Leith, nothing is now proposed to be done which can prevent an Act of Parliament from being obtained for carrying a *five feet* Canal there; one of *eight feet*, or any intermediate size, being, from the insuperable objections before stated, entirely out of the question*.

The attentive reader will by this time readily allow, that an im-

* Should the Magistrates be induced to withdraw opposition from the Union Bill when before Parliament, a prospective clause might still be introduced to facilitate the extension of the Union Canal to the port of Leith, on fair and liberal principles for all parties concerned in such an extraordinary measure, whenever it shall be found expedient and practicable so to do, for the general good.

partial examination of all the arguments in various publications, for and against the Union Canal, clearly proves, that its promising execution alone, has ever seriously alarmed many very sympathetic coal-masters. They never will hesitate to sound the joyful horn in any wild-goose chase after coals among the Highland moors, while with their staunch hounds all at bay, they will pull up with instinctive horror and antipathy at fair truth's approach, like a majestic swan, in a similar pursuit on the Lowlands adjacent, which seems at last on the wing with glad tidings of hope to the shivering poor, but with sad forebodings of despair at the reduced prices of coals to their undermining oppressors.

It will also be evident, that the past and present conduct of such second-sighted sportsmen respecting their own immediate game on Canals, incontestibly demonstrates, that every line, but Mr. Baird's, still presents to their keen eyes only the "two hopeless birds in a bush;" while the Union Canal, on the contrary assumes the ominous posture of "one in hand," which, if it had not immediately been suspended, *in terrorem*, by the bill for its rival, would have long ago, lowered on the prospect of their coal monopoly for ever.

Since neither the coal-masters nor their partizans appear to patronize the Union Canal's immediate commencement, the public may, notwithstanding the recent defeat in Parliament, safely keep the field in its favour, without the hazard of *latet anguis in herba* from their hostility, whatever fears might naturally have been excited by their friendship or even silence on such grounds. Every reflecting mind will therefore naturally deem any practicable plan, alone worthy of recommendation, countenance, and support, in preference to every other, on which coal monopolists, or their deluded friends, may confer the meed of tacit or avowed approbation, as a mere *stalking-horse* for concealing the sinister blow thus aimed at the metropolis of Scotland; whence, as a trusty Trojan, I may still prophetically exclaim, as I did last year,—

"Aut aliquis latet error, equo ne credite Teucri;

"Quidquid id est, timeo danaos et dona ferentes."

Accept this version of my Latin distich,
As paraphrase, blown out with epaspistick,

Put not your trust in *princes* *, honest men!
Is an *old maxim* of the *law*, ye ken!
Then hear me! never take a *kraken* story,
Or *mammoth* tale from any quizzing Tory.
Each will like *mermaids*, and some staler *jokes*,
Prove a mere *humbug*, or a *Night-mare* hoax.

The more that the comparative merits of the Union Canal are discussed, its ultimate adoption will more evidently seem one of those grand national undertakings, which will speedily improve this part of the country, in arts, manufactures, agriculture, commerce, and all the comforts of social life, which the poor of the land have a right to enjoy in a proportionate degree with the wealthy and rich, because the wants of the former, and the higher enjoyments of the latter, are so essentially blended together, that they must have forcibly struck the poet's prospective eye to "a warm fire-side," in his autumnal exclamation:—

" All is the gift of industry;—whate'er
" Exalts, embellishes, and renders life
" Delightful. Pensive Winter, cheer'd by him,
" Sits at the social fire, and, happy, hears
" Th' excluded tempest idly rave along:
" Without him—Summer were an arid waste:
" —Nor could we thus call every friend around."

One argument which was deemed *unanswerable*, when urged *against* the Union Canal, applies with *double force*, if it ever *had any* to the *projected Rival Canal*, because it will communicate with the *Monkland cut*, much *smaller* in proportion to *that Canal*, than the Union was to the old Forth and Clyde communication. The fact

* As the *Mayor* of Belfast is styled the *Sovereign*, I see no reason why metropolitan heads should not be kings, or princes at least.

is here, as in other contests, between Light and Darkness, the devils know the truth and tremble, though they can pretend to quote lies in their own favour, even from Holy Writ. Another obvious consequence on the proposed rival line must strike every thinking being, that wherever it approximates Glasgow, the coals, and every thing else, must first go to gorge the markets there, before they can find a more distant retrograde channel to Edinburgh, whereas by the projected north ramification, if hereafter necessary, from the Union towards Stirling, no such result can ever follow. I shall, in page 103, wind up my desultory remarks here by a quotation from an able defence of the Union Canal, *printed at Glasgow*, because, not one *Press in Edinburgh*, durst take such an *Exposé* of *magisterial* misconduct in hand, though, it is universally admitted by every body, that we *Britons* enjoy much more national *glory, honour, happiness, piety, comfort, and freedom*, even than Brother Jonathan, with all his Common Sense declamation to the contrary. In short, we are all well fed, warmly clothed, comfortably lodged, safely protected, look ruddy about the gills, pipe and sing like larks or grasshoppers, what the devil then would Reformers be at? Were we oxen, sheep, nightingales, or pigeons, the foregoing blessings must prove the *summum bonum* of our *brutal wants or appetites*, while the very spark of divinity within us, which always flies upwards to heaven, clearly demonstrates a mental craving for perfect but rational freedom in this world, or eternal bliss in the next, which no logician can possibly confound with mere animal propensities, without reducing man, the noblest of God's works, to a level with the beasts of the field. We have no reason to suppose, that the humble palfrey on which *Balaam* was trotting away to sell his own soul, to that devil of a prince *Balak*, had been worse treated, on the score of *mere* meat and drink, than any of his brother *Jack-asses* or mules of the prophet's country; yet, *mirabile dictu!* did not the poor brute become, all at once, an orator in his own defence, from the cruel usage of his unreasonable, because venal master. Yes, the very ass perceived and felt the consequence of

so unholy an expedition, nay, complained bitterly, like a rational being, of his hard fate, when he saw and brayed aloud, that a Divine Spirit had opened the poor creature's eyes and untied its dumb tongue, to warn the Prophet of God from the heinous sin of selling his chosen people for the wages of corruption. Cuddy was, in fact, a sort of Reformer of his blind lord, and met with buffeting and blows for his officious braying, until the awakened sinner perceived, that good cheer alone is not the only want of an aspiring soul, after kind treatment and righteous dealings between man and man, if not also between a Don Quixote and his old Rosinante. Every other science has been making rapid strides towards all possible improvement, and shall the noble art of political economy and government alone stand still, that the rational flocks of every country and clime may for ever remain dumb before their unreasonable shearers; nay, that they must learn even not to open their mouths at the sight of a patent knife presented either at their skin or throats.

The consternation and alarm among all the Printers, and their patriotic patrons in Edinburgh, on the appearance of Major Cartwright and myself as Radical Reformers, among so pure and pious a people, could only be equalled by a similar agitation, attending a recent occurrence, and which has also caused no small sensation and uneasiness among certain Believers in Glasgow.

An elderly Gentleman some weeks ago was accompanied by a favourite monkey, on board one of the beautiful Steam boats, which are the glory and pride of that prosperous Town. Mr. Pug having something of the inquisitive spirit about him, though only a poor soul-less body, had, it seems, gone down below to examine minutely all the grand machinery and state wheels in the vessel, where the Jackanapes was so rivetted by the wonder working organization of the whole, that he entirely forgot his master on deck, and in short, at his departure for the shore, the impertinent ape was "*non est inventus*." He continued concealed in the hull of the boat till next day, when a Glasgow Printer, a passenger, happened to

disturb this Orang Outang in his mechanical devotions, and frightened him by an unexpected visit to that quarter, out at the window. Mr. Printer not aware of any such harlequin fellow passenger being so near him, started back in terror, that one of his own little Devils from the press, who attended him on the journey, had taken a lover's leap into the rapid Clyde, till he perceived the long tail at the *petit maitre's* back, which at once allayed his fears, being certain that all his apprentices, including the one with himself, were *bikker cuts*, or round crops. On farther investigation, the lost baboon was caught and consigned, *pro tempore*, to the care of an honest tradesman, whose workshop happens to range with the Unitarian Chapel, and during divine service, the little African, attracted by the harmony of sweet sounds from an organ and musical voices, so near him, broke loose from his chain, and posted away to the house of God, without ever looking once behind—

Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast,
To soften rocks, and bend the knotted oak,
We read that things inanimate have moved,
And as with living souls have been informed
By magic numbers, and persuasive sounds.

Having produced such inspired authority for the probability of the narrative, and being moreover able to confirm it by a cloud of living witnesses, I shall proceed as follows :

Master Jacky contrived to mount on the very pinnacle of the temple, where he soon reached the glazed cupola, and looked down among the melodious congregation, with such a complacent ineffable grin, that in any other face but a monkey's, it would have passed for the celestial smile of a *Genius* or a *Seraph*. Anxious for admission among so amiable a society of peaceable Christians, our shaggy probationer began to knock rapidly at the convex door, in the expectation, no doubt, that the brethren within would cheerfully open it to so importunate a proselyte. Neither Peter nor Paul appearing to act as janitor on this critical occasion, the little irritated devil began to

scratch the glass with his four feet, and make dreadful faces at the devotees, who, by this time, were gazing upwards in the utmost alarm and amaze, having no idea of such a visitant from the clouds, and wondering, no doubt, how the little impatient gentleman got on the roof of their Chapel.—Some of the flock, perhaps, began to suspect there might be much truth in the common saying, “the nearer the church the farther from God,” particularly when they descried a swaggering appendage at Pug’s nether end. This portentous sight acted like a thunder clap, a flash of lightning, the sudden appearance of a ghost or a fallen angel, on most of the assembly, many of whom, it is said, took to their heels, and have ever since, been studying the Bible, on the reality of the Lion’s existence, “who roameth abroad, seeking whom he can find to destroy.”

The little hero of this religious expedition, and its salutary consequences on the opinions of those whom he so very unexpectedly disturbed, having broke loose a second time, on the following Sunday, again attracted by the harmonious sound of voices and organ, has been since his religious adventures, doubly chained to a wooden post by brass fetters, every whit as secure as the shackles which have lately been forged for another aspiring soul, the fallen Napoleon, by those very hands, to some of whom he had, as a generous conqueror, returned their respective Crowns. The present keepers of the *Monk* with the *rueful countenance*, cannot I presume be yet charged with any such ingratitude, though I make no doubt if this lay brother, were properly exhibited as a masonic *amateur* in music, at the Grand Harmonic Festival in Edinburgh, he might create a great number of Crowns for his prudent masters, without their running the smallest risk of a prosecution, for disturbing the devotional duties of the musical citizens, during the existing Carnival week of that *bravura* throng.—But to resume our subject:

“On the whole, it appears to be evident, that the rejection of the Union Canal, (for the making of which all the expence has been long ago subscribed,) and the soliciting of Subscriptions for executing a Line so much higher, so much more circuitous and

longer, so much worse in every respect, and yet so enormously more expensive, may indeed gratify the views of those, who, from private interest and connection, or spleen, have been always openly, or secretly hostile to the establishment of any effective Canal to Edinburgh, and may also serve the partial interests of others, but must be extremely prejudicial to the Public, by preventing the establishment of the most perfect Inland Navigation, that can ever be made betwixt Edinburgh and the West Country, and Glasgow."

"There can be no doubt, if this preposterous scheme of a Line of Canal, parallel to the Forth and Clyde Navigation, but on a higher level and more circuitous route, should ever be attempted, the money raised will be a total loss to the Subscribers; the fund, will be exhausted before half the Line be completed, and the work like certain others, will remain in an unfinished state, as a beacon to the undertakers of similar projects."

Although the community have already been kept two years longer, from the sight of any Canal's commencement, by the officious interference of their *Nisi Dominus frustra—custodes canalium*, than otherwise would have happened, *nil desperandum*, should, nevertheless, be the rallying motto of the insulted and traduced *Union subscribers*, as that *canaille, qui nil potest sperare, desperet nihil*, and I shall in spite of all past or future opposition, persevere till *finis coronat opus*, whatever that may be.

—"facilis descensus avari:

"Noctes atque dies patet atri janua ditis.

"Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,

"Hoc opus, hic labor est." VIRGIL.

No impartial man who has attended to the origin, progress, and impending results of the existing contest between the whole population of Edinburgh, with its territorial dependencies, and the Mid-Lothian coal-masters, but must make every allowance for the irritable feelings of the Subscribers to the Union Canal, as individuals or an associated body. The coal-masters' Advocate, and his worthy accomplice MENTOR, have not hesitated, along with their menaced

rail-roads, to rail and rave against the projected Canal as a mere bubble or Air-bank; and, instead of being a practicable North land undertaking, it has been most scandalously denounced as a nefarious South Sea scheme to cheat the public, or ruin its supporters. In short, they have been *branded* with the epithets of vile lottery puffers, zealots, madmen, drivellers, impostors, credulous fools, headstrong, impatient extortioners, sturdy beggars, imprudent incendiaries, demagogues; and last, not least, as a pack of graceless plebeians, with hardly one honourable or right honourable man among them. The engineer has come in for his full share of the abuse, as a mere coal-tacksman, whose name never had extended beyond the sphere of his own coal-works: he has been stigmatized as an empiric or quack in his profession, and as a juggler in his calculations; nothing in fact has been left undone, to sink Mr. Baird as low as possible in public estimation, and to raise on his devoted ruins a lofty monument to the defunct plans of Mr. Rennie, from which a griffin is conjured up again to amuse the good people of Edinburgh for some years longer, at the expense of the city funds, Mr. Baird, and all his employers.

The persecuted Union Canal itself has been denounced as an execrable object, visionary, and worse than useless, utterly ruinous in its effects on the country in general, and the Subscribers in particular; in a word, as a huge hydra-headed serpent, or dangerous, mad water-dog, let loose by a few maniacs, to bite or burn the fingers of every loyal reflecting subject in this deluded land, who has helped most preposterously to raise already the enormous sum of £300,000 in its favour.

Now, good reader, can any one wonder, that such a pelting shower of abuse on the head of the proposed Canal, and its friends, should terminate with reverberated peals of thunder, and a volley of warm bolts, pointed at the seat of honour in their opponents, pending the paper-war which they first declared by a firebrand from the press, and seem still determined to wage with redoubled fury to the contested issue in successive sessions of the imperial Parliament.

Every candid observer must be struck with the comparative insignificance of the commerce of the metropolis of Scotland, contrasted with its twin sister's more rapid progress in all mercantile and manufacturing concerns, by the means of Canals, machinery, steam engines, steam boats, water companies, with every species of grand operative works, and the most useful speculations, which abound in the town and adjoining districts of Glasgow. The traveller there, will perhaps have to learn with admiration and surprise, that the Magistrates of that city, have often little more merit in the creation of so many sources of national prosperity and individual wealth, than prudently letting the various projectors, speculators and managers in their several pursuits, entirely alone. This fact was lately published to the world, in a string of the many negative acts of the Glasgow Magistracy, by all the papers in that place, but here unfortunately, it is said, that only one solitary office was found bold enough to risk the publication of so harmless a truth.

"Your parcel* contained all the printed documents, plans and reports of Messrs. Baird and Rennie, concerning the intended Union Canal. I have perused them, and entirely approve of Mr. H. Baird's very judicious plans, and the line he has proposed; and I take this opportunity with much pleasure, of saying, that I have the highest opinion of Mr. Hugh Baird, and of his very superior abilities as an engineer, which, joined to his experience, general and local knowledge in this matter, render him, in my estimation, more competent to direct and plan such an undertaking than any other engineer in these kingdoms, whatever may be his reputation: and I consider your Canal Company as fortunate in having so very skilful and accurate an engineer to do justice to their intentions and useful projects. I can

* The writer is a gentleman of character, much local knowledge, experience and eminent talents in his professional pursuits, as an engineer, superintendant and proprietor of various great works, whose name, however, need not be submitted to the Public, though he wrote me at the time we were preparing the Union Bill.

well imagine that there may be great opposition to your bill, *first*, From the proprietors of land on Mr. Rennie's line, who would be benefited by a Canal going through their barren wild country; and *secondly*, By those who are interested in the lower and more northerly line;* but the principal, and, I fear, the most weighty opposition, may arise from those opulent coal proprietors to the east and south of Edinburgh, who have expended large sums of money, and employ large capitals, in fitting their deep collieries with expensive large steam engines and machinery, viz. * * * * *

Of course their interest must be very naturally affected by any great depression of the price of coals at Edinburgh, or in its vicinity. The arguments these great people will use may have weight with Parliament when they assert, "That, relying on the present state of the coal market at Edinburgh, they, for the public benefit, as well as with a view to the advantage of their property, have ventured and employed large capitals on purpose to supply the Edinburgh market with a most indispensable and necessary article of life, which, by the unlooked-for interference of this Canal, will be entirely lost to them, from the expected reduction of the price of fuel which may be brought to Edinburgh by the Union Canal, as they will be necessitated to give up their collieries." I think it not at all unlikely, that the political influence of these potent landholders, with * * * * *, may urge them to find out some plausible, ostensible reason to resist your project in Parliament, while the real cause is, as I have stated; however, as virtuous men they ought not to be so biassed, nor ought they to give the least countenance to any impracticable rival plan, because this would be

* This most northerly paper line has been long ago consigned to "*ficas vendentem et odores*," or to even a more degrading office, connected with the notorious quack in pages 12 and 13. *q. v.* The enemies of Union so far contrived to have two strings to their long bow, one has not been able to stand the test of comparison at all, and the other may yet follow its too far North fiddlestick, though to the South of the Union Line, when we give it another hard scrape on the touchstone of truth.

wholly unworthy the character of the Imperial Parliament, and must imply a species of base hypocrisy, that might mislead them, though it could never originate in so honourable a House. You will always form a tolerably accurate conjecture on this head, by observing, whether the Coal gentry round the City take the alarm at any other Canal or not: if they do, there must be some chance of success, otherwise, you may treat every rival Canal, merely as the *cat's paw*, to help the bear or monkey to some other *roasted chesnut*, than Canal *coal-fire*."

I have very much local knowledge of the particular part of the country, and of its minerals, through which the Union Canal must be cut. This has been acquired from my early youth, in the prosecution of extensive business as a coal and iron master and lime burner, and more lately on my own account, and that of some of my friends; and, *so far as I am able to form an opinion, I think the advantages so distinctly and ably pointed out by Mr. Baird are likely to be realized in this undertaking*, which cannot fail to be of great national benefit, as well as of the utmost importance to the splendid metropolis of Scotland."

It has been among other falsehoods asserted, that my Union associates, finding me so perverse and untractable, were forced to reject me from their society and committees entirely; but how does the fact in reality stand, it is, upon the word of an honest man, positively what now follows:

When we were supposed quite ready to proceed with the Union Bill to Parliament, a committee was assembled, in which I, of course, took my seat, as one of the members. After some little discussion, it was discovered, *inter alia*, that from some commission of blunders, or omission of duties, we were by no means prepared to advance one step farther that session with any prospect of success, and, in short, found ourselves in such a dilemma, that to proceed was not less fatal to our future and ultimate success, than retrogression in that stage of the business could possibly be. I listened, with becoming attention, to the arguments and expedients adduced,

to extricate the Union Concerns from so disagreeable a predicament, with credit to the *Chairman and Committee*, and all the benefit in our limited power, to our *Constituents*. This device was at last adopted by the whole, with my dissentient voice alone, viz. that an amicable communication should be written to the magistracy, stating our desire to procrastinate all parliamentary operations for another session, with the conviction, that, in the interim, municipal opposition would cease, when the merits of both Canals were deliberately weighed by all parties, none of whom, could with any decency, afterwards harrass each other merely for the sake of an expensive and mischievous contest. It was an object to have this passed unanimously, and I was pressed in vain to join all the rest of my compeers, and, consequently, submitted the subsequent reasons for my persevering dissent:

1. The Chief Magistrate had thought proper to charge the Union subscribers with sinister views, when I was deputed to wait upon him as Chairman of the Merchant Company's Union Canal Committee.

2. This accusation I repelled at the time, by stating the belief, that those people who suspected others most, when their measures were open as the light of day, were often the very men of whom suspicion would not be wholly groundless.

3. That I had seen nothing in the whole conduct of our adversaries, to make me conceive they would trust us, even so much, as we might feel inclined, on any occasion, to confide in them.

4. That our proposed concession would be considered, and treated as a *ruse de guerre*, to shelter our forced retreat under a flag of truce, which would probably be fired at with the contempt, due to our temporizing policy.

5. That it would be more honest, if not honourable, candidly to confess both our unforeseen obstacles and our official sins, or errors to our constituents; at the same time to push the Bill immediately through the House of Commons at all hazards, that the City Magistrates might enjoy the superlative merit of giving it a *coup*

de grace, in a committee cradle, even before it should see the light of day, as a spurious or legitimate candidate for Parliamentary adoption.

6. That our defeat would impose a Canal, *volens volens*, on the Magistrates, which they would be forced immediately to commence, unless it was intended to set public opinion and esteem at defiance.

7. That at all events, the present opponents of the Union Line would never resign their hostility to it; on the contrary, they would in my humble opinion, lose no opportunity, by foul or fair means, to frustrate every effort we could make in its favour, either in or out of Parliament.

8. That under such impressions, I must enter my protest on the minutes, against every concession or compromise, knowing that it would be nugatory, if not dangerous, to the general interests of the subscribers.

General Maxwell, one of the members, earnestly, but in the politest manner, beseeched me to withdraw the protest, that the proceedings, in so critical a situation, should at least appear to be unanimous.

Wishing to be consistent in my own conduct, where we were surrounded by insuperable difficulties, without injuring the interests of the subscribers, exposing myself to legal prosecution, or hurting the feelings of the Committee, I proposed one of these alternatives:—That my name should be withdrawn from the list of members present, with permission to leave the meeting; or that my dissent should be recorded. The General instantly acknowledged the justice of my proposition; I was of course allowed to depart, and at a subsequent sitting, I took the earliest opportunity of resigning as a Committee member, stating, at the same time, that my chief motive was to prevent the personal animosity between me and the Magistrates from ever after proving injurious to the Union Canal subscribers in any capacity whatever, being then apprehensive, that I and my writings might be used as convenient tools against the pending enterprize, though the fact is, there

was no lack of instruments for such a royal purpose. Now the true story is told, and so very respectable an evidence as General Maxwell adduced in support of my testimony, my friends and enemies may make what use they please of the present statement of facts, to the best of my recollection, at this distance of time, in every essential point, either for or against me.

* Sirs, When I commence this address, with the intention of signing it myself, as responsible for every sentiment it contains, I cannot conceive you can have any motive for denying me access to the rational freedom of the Press, in this happy country, where the peasant and the peer are alike protected by the impartial shield of equal law and justice.

† If ever any nation shall be so placed, that "*audi alteram partem*" becomes wholly disregarded, then, indeed, must commence among that people the reign of terror and despotism, under whatever form of government, such a state of things shall be allowed to exist; and in *soi disant* free communities should every candid appeal to the public be excluded, they truly must be in the very lowest stage of degradation and slavery. As this reasoning, however, cannot apply to a city under such dignified, liberal, and benign sway as the town of Edinburgh is happily placed at present, I shall proceed,

* This part of my present publication, is extracted from the eight successive letters which were published in the Edinburgh Star not perhaps in their original order, but sufficiently connected to make the matter intelligible enough to every discerning reader, who will at once account for any perceptible change of style.

† When writing this some eighteen months ago, I little conceived the period here deprecated, would so soon arrive, and force me to take shelter, by a precipitate flight, in the more liberal City of Glasgow, where I was obliged to sojourn under the hospitable roof of a fellow-sufferer in Reform, during a complete fortnight, as it required that time to finish this pamphlet, being the only shield I could carry back to my native town, whatever may yet befall me under its auspices, among the rising palaces of our Scottish Sion, and the ancient walls of modern Troy.

without further preamble or apology, to lay my case before your intelligent readers, leaving them at leisure to judge fairly between me and my opponents.

* In my last, the Candid Remarker was merely introduced as an incog genius, who might, in the interim, throw off the mask, and stand so far in *propria persona*, like myself, before the bar of his fellow-subjects. Not having to my knowledge done so, there can be no harm in treating this scare-crow, or man of straw, with so little ceremony, as to leave him till I have settled a more important account with the Right Hon. the Lord Provost and Magistrates, the worshipful Master and Assistants of the highly respectable Merchant Company, and many of the most honourable and dignified members of that exalted society, who in defence of their disinterested opposition to the Union Canal, have deemed it prudent to aim a mortal blow at its execution, through my private character by certain speeches, resolutions, and measure, calculated with a view to raise themselves still higher, than they deservedly are, in the eyes of the more intelligent classes of the inhabitants, on the smoking ruins of a solitary subscriber to that useful undertaking. When my own and its plain unvarnished tale has been told in your columns, free from the clamorous interruption to which I was lately exposed in the Merchant Hall of this City, let me stand or fall by the unbiassed verdict of my countrymen, expressed by what is justly termed "public opinion;" and whether for or against me, I shall bow to it with the most profound submission, and regulate all my future steps in life accordingly. What is now my situation, as a member of the Merchant Company, to-day, may be that of the most worthy man in it to-morrow, whose good name alone will be much

* This was addressed to the Editor of the Edinburgh Star, being the only paper which then durst so far advocate the cause of a persecuted fellow-citizen; whatever its situation, in that respect may since have been, or during my pilgrimage in Tarshish, after a precipitate flight from the great city, or Nineveh of the present day.

more precious not only to himself, but to the whole of his countrymen, than his antagonists, on one acknowledged principle, which no man of candour or experience in the world will affect to deny, viz. That corporate bodies have done, are doing, and will probably do to the end of the world, unless radically reformed, those very harsh and unjust things, without due reflection and remorse, for which few of the members individually would chuse to be responsible, because when the blow of general odium or reproof is levelled at an associated number, there is no single exposed point in such a butt, to receive the flying shaft, it therefore merely vibrates with a harmless tremor from centre to circumference, without doing the least mischief to the fame of any one member more than another; a fact resting on this evident ground, that what is every one's fault or business, is in truth no one's. This clearly proves that not a rational soul in such a large body can really suffer much, if any, loss of credit, character, or honour; every company in this free city and kingdom should therefore act with becoming decorum, prudence, and lenity, when opposed to a solitary individual, who may have expressed some doubts, either on the sanity of their judgment, or soundness of their principles, on a disputed subject regularly before them. He, poor man, under such a predicament, stands exposed as a focus for the collected rays of any brilliant assembly to play upon with impunity, and should he fortunately escape being drawn and quartered from the gallows for the freedom of his speech or writings among them, he runs no small risk of being tied to a stake, and immediately reduced to ashes by the fierce anger of the converged wrath of his adversaries, with a bag of gunpowder, and all his supposed inflammatory productions tied round his neck, that the *soi disant* loyalists, who have caught the wretch in their toils, may rejoice at the merited explosion of so daring a traitor. Thus have I been already in some measure menaced, treated and stigmatised among my brother bankers and commercial associates, as a seditious and designing friend of the people, merely because, as a subscriber to the Union Canal, I have advocated its immediate commencement in

the face of all its foes, without prudently considering, as others have done, that the Right Honourable the Lord Provost and Magistrates, and the Mid-Lothian coal proprietors had taken an irrevocable and decided step against that persecuted enterprize. This is the head and front of my offending in print, for supporting which, I have been publicly branded with many delectable epithets, which shall concentrate here in one polite term of *furious incendiary*, whose papers were to be torn by legal steps from his peaceable home, and to be handed over for conflagration or destruction to the public officer of the Worshipful Merchant Company of this great city, whom, with the Magistrates, he was accused of insulting, by some silly jokes, on their conduct to the Union Canal.

† You and your friends may talk as you please about ignominious retreats: I feel nothing of them, though I have felt and resented the most dastardly attack that ever was made upon an innocent individual, by a pack of hounds thirsting for his blood, among the agitated passions of rival Canals. I hope, for the honour of your good name, when it comes to burst forth in all its glory, that you have not stooped so low for revenge on a man who happens to differ with you about coals and canals. As to the kicking or caning process you hint at; give me the same fair play that has been given others, and I shall take my chance with one at least, though I have no pretensions to cope at fisty-cuffs, quarter-staff, or foot-ball, with 300, while I can hardly boast on a bottle-holder in the combat. For the honour of my native city, for which I shall always pray, that virtue, peace, health, and prosperity, may ever adorn its mansions, I shall allow many of the mean artifices which have lately been practised to intimidate me, to die with myself; and to the base curs who are guilty of them, I shall remark once for all, their power to worry or destroy my carcase extends no farther, though their unbounded rage at me would induce them to destroy both soul and body, if in their power. Seeing that one person has been

† Addressed to the "Candid Remarker," who never yet has dared to appear in his real character.

found in this city daring enough with impunity to charge me and many other peaceable subjects with capital crimes, in which wicked design he has at least enjoyed some countenance from people of respectable rank and character in this community, can it be wondered at, if I apprehend, that a price has actually been set on my head, large enough to stimulate some desperate ruffian to destroy me, if not by British justice, by what is termed club-law. Who then so proper tools for so nefarious a deed as anonymous authors, when they find it perfectly convenient, from other circumstances, to throw off the mask, and come boldly forward in person, though nevertheless as hired bravos or gladiators, fairly to dispatch the man, in defiance of all laws, who has been honest and fool-hardy enough to displease the malevolent instigators of such bullies, who have malice, but not courage enough, to strike the fatal blow themselves. You accuse me of scurrility, and I appeal to every honest man, who has read all the papers on both sides, to tell candidly, whence this species of offence and defence, really originated; nay, let him say who first began the wordy war, and continues it still, under false colours, after we challenged you to the fair field,

Where man to man, and name to name might sound,

On which side sterling coin or counterfeits abound.

Do but display, good Cerberus, thy face,

And make us hide our own in foul disgrace.

Till then you run not half the risk we do,

Since all can tilt at us, but none at you.

To mortal stabs we stand exposed you know,

While you, unseen, can mock each manly blow.

You accuse the Union Canal projectors and friends, as swindlers and impostors of the worst kind, they retort the compliment on yourself, but this I can safely aver, that before I subscribed to that useful project, every thing was previously arranged, and, had it not been for a relative's sake, who had thousands at stake in the enterprise, I might to this day have resisted the repeated applications for my solitary name to the subscription, or my exertions in the success of a canal, which, if damned by the various machinations on foot against it, we never shall see its match again, in more points

than one. After this candid declaration, I trust you will not include me in the impositions, ascribed to the Canal Committee and projectors, as they are to your cost, both able and willing to turn the tables completely on every slave like you.

When one man writes upon velvet, at his daily vocation, living either on clover or the fat of the land, by so doing, his is truly an easy task; to him the lines have fallen in pleasant places, but it is the very reverse with the wight who is no hireling, and who scorns to prostitute a pen, which he dare not own, in any cause whatever. That the Union Canal is neither the job nor the imposture which you are maintained, at somebody's expence to advocate, will be pretty apparent to every impartial reader, who refers to the well known defender of that enterprize, in his judicious strictures on your remarks, which appeared in the Mercury of the 24th ult. and concluded, thus: "This specimen will enable the public to appreciate this pamphlet, which contains not one remark more just or more candid than that which I have already noticed, and will also enable the subscribers to the Union Canal to discover, if it be with honest argument, that their adversaries mean to prosecute the remainder of the contest." In another Mercury about the 28th ult. an excellent defence of the Union Canal, and exposure of the falsehoods circulated in the Remarks against it, will be found under the signature of *A. B.* who, I presume, cannot hesitate to exchange real names with *C. R.* whenever he pleases. While, on one side, all are open, avowed arguers, and on the other, nobody stands forwards without a visor, no sagacity is required, to decide on which hand there is the greatest chance of finding reason, truth, and justice, especially when it is known, that the strong arm of power is against the Union Canal, and could, if requisite, shield every one of its foes from *ex officio* informations, whatever might be done with its acknowledged friends as writers, were they indiscreetly to stumble on forbidden ground.

The weakness, puerility, and sophistry of your reasoning faculties, are so obvious, that he who runs, will read them in every par-

agraph you write; I shall not therefore imagine the readers of the Star, such ninnies as not to refute you with your own assertions, through every one of which the cloven foot is as manifest as the sun at noon-day. Will, or can any worshipper of the golden calf, even believe, that you have, out of pure hatred alone to the Union Canal, published a book of 62 pages, without fee, reward, or expectation, from any quarter, when it is well known, that no other individual has yet done any such thing.

Now, Sir, if your Canal, follow the fate of its precursors, either in the way of time, mismanagement, or expenditure, we shall have a long, wasteful, unproductive gape in the very bowels of the country, that may ultimately remind my fellow-subjects of my prophetic lesson, when they may vainly learn it with a vengeance, not on my head, but on the disordered brains, which have been so prolific of late, in scurrilous abuse and infamous calumnies against all the friends to practicable canals and cheap coals. It has been the fate of most men under similar circumstances, so to be persecuted and abused with the epithets of traitors, lunatics, impostors, demagogues, and so forth; but to some of those very martyrs, both in Church and State, we still owe a great many of our most valuable privileges, in the religion and laws of this free kingdom, which might otherwise have yet been groaning under the oppressive load of unlimited political, and infallible ecclesiastical government. This passive obedience and blind submission, to what some people term the divine right of rulers, is gradually passing away, and will, with other vices and follies, flee rapidly before that march of the human mind, from oppression, ignorance, and crime, which is nursing to maturity in the benevolent cradles of the Bible Society, the Missionary associations, and the Lancastrian schools, to proclaim true wisdom, peace, and good-will, among all the nations of the world, a saving light to the whole human race, who may now bid defiance to any mad or foolish Jesuit, who would attempt to clap the full moon of a cloudy night as an extinguisher on the sun at noon-day.

The very warlike name of Crichton is in itself a host,

which no doubt the prudent courage of the Worshipful Master and his discreet advisers preferred, as my chosen adversary, to any pacific Merchant or civil Banker, like myself, in these martial exploits, who could not well have constituted an invincible battering ram against one unsupported Member of the flock, so appallingly powerful in the pending assault, or its still depending results. Every honest Scot must have read or heard of the admirable Crichton, with feelings of pride and the highest esteem, for his chivalrous and recondite exploits in behalf of the oppressed in every land, and of the military and literary fame of his own beloved country: Now should it so happen, that, even in one sense of the word, the gallant Colonel and his ancestor can be viewed as *par nobile fratrum*, what chance could a dumplin, such as I am, have in deeds of arms against the combined weight of mechanical, hereditary, and physical prowess in a pitched battle, before the Merchant Company, while my humble descent can only be traced in the peaceful shades of our national faith or the still peace-making walks of Scottish diplomacy; but to the *propria persona* of the Drama, that we may attend in due course to the fire and fury matter of this mortal blunderbuss. And pray, Gentlemen, of the Star, can you yet conceive the nature of the charge with which it was levelled chokeful against me. To be plain with you, and my other townemen, I and those who thought with me about cheap coals and the Union Canal, were formally denounced by this public and warlike accuser, as base, insidious friends of the people, as revolutionary ruffians, civil incendiaries, seditious demagogues, and treasonable assassins, who wanted, like our brother Jacobins of 1793, to level every thing truly noble, deservedly great, and conspicuously virtuous in this happy land with the dust, under the flimsy pretence of christian charity, universal philanthropy, and artful sophistry, which the arch-traitor (meaning your humble servant) had dared to pollute, in his papers, with the sacred name of sound logic. What! indignantly exclaimed this glowing Demosthenes, do those productions, so industriously circulated among us, in reality contain? why the very seditious senti-

ments, clothed almost in the self-same words, which not more than twenty years ago had nearly set this city, nay, the whole country, in a blaze of anarchy and warfare. Thanks to the brave volunteers who crowded round the legitimate standard of authority, and protected it from the blasts that were gathering abroad, and the more tremendous storms which were brewing in the bosom of its detestable enemies at home. Shall we then, my royal associates! on the eve of peace, run the risk of prolonging our miseries, by tamely receiving in this room, papers, and the man, who, if he durst, would, like another faggot, fire another Troy, that he might, with impunity, hurl his democratic shafts at our most upright and right Honourable Lord Provost and Magistrates; nay, tho' last not least, at the truly noble, pre-eminent, and illustrious coal proprietors, who grace our vicinity with their munificent presence, and daily shed innumerable blessings of money, meal, and coals, upon the head of our peaceable, industrious, and deserving poor? He and his accomplices have arrogantly hinted at the bare possibility of our patriotic Magistracy, and the royal proprietors of land in Mid-Lothian, stooping to sully their pure hands, with any interested competition about dirty coals and ignoble canals, falsely decorated with the endearing appellation of Union, for the infernal purpose of scattering the prolific seeds of disaffection and discord round the land. Perish! the vile thoughts and the viler firebrands, who have audaciously attempted to kindle them in the unsuspecting breasts of our devoted fellow citizens. Can we so soon forget the Paines, the Watts, and the Downies, who, but a few fleeting years ago, seemed to rule the storm, and direct the whirlwind of levelling principles, from the Land's End to Johnny Groat's house, and, for one moment, permit a plebeian rabble, with an incendiary like this, to renew the bloody deeds of those alarming days, and shall we not lift the strong arm of this all-mighty Corporation, to crush the reptiles and their undermining canals together, by one decisive blow? At this menacing declamation, I began to look about me, and instinctively felt how far my ill-fated short neck, would quietly submit either to the

executioner's axe, or his more horrible *misericorde*, more especially as the Man of War's pathetic appeal was made to the genuine patriotism of his hearers, many of whom had, by responsive plaudits on the floor, done all they thus could to cheer the accuser, and depress the arraigned culprit, during the whole course of this capital charge of treason, by one of the most potent, royal, and brave officers, who now adorn the British army. It is not in my limited power, Gentlemen, to furnish your readers with an accurate copy or detail of this most precious morsel of civic eloquence that ever, perhaps, warmed the passions of mercantile men into vindictive ardour, but I trust it shall not be lost to posterity, in the glorious annals of this metropolis, so long as the original itself may, with your permission, blaze in the Edinburgh Star, should these feeble sketches of mine have unintentionally shorn it of those effulgent beams of royalty and real courage, which no honest cit can gaze on without catching a divine spark of the sacred flame.— Judge, good Gentlemen, what my cogitations were at this critical moment of impending fate, till Mr. Calder rose, and in the honest warmth of his unsophisticated heart observed, that he never in his whole life before, was doomed patiently to hear so stupid a speech, for this plain reason, that it was calculated (if any thing could) to excite those very tumults and discontents, which Colonel Crichton had so feelingly, but unfoundedly, deprecated in the proceedings of that Committee, of which he (Mr. C.) stated, “I was a member, who never, for one minute, would have sanctioned with my name, countenance, or presence, any thing like seditious designs, which to my knowledge till now, were rarely conceived to be enveloped in some few ludicrous and misplaced allusions, to the friends and enemies of Union and discordant Canals, for in my humble opinion, treason seldom lurks under the cloak of fun, frolic, and good humour.” After some more similar remarks, Mr. Calder resumed his seat near myself, while reason and moderation seemed busy in a similar process with the great majority of the Meeting, till the Right Hon. the Lord Provost assumed an upright posture, and in

spirit, if not in words, thus, or nearly so, began his brief oration:—Mr. Preses, Though the present meeting, have thought proper to evince manifest signs of disapprobation at some parts of my worthy friend, Colonel Crichton's speech, I do certainly opine, that we are infinitely obliged to that gallant officer, for the undaunted discharge of his civic duties upon such a trial, in this place, where he nobly declared, that the battle was fought for the honour and glory of this most illustrious Company, to whom, what are wealth, blushing honours, titles, or even commercial acumen, if their unblemished fame be suffered ignobly to wither under the foul breath of popular clamour and calumny? No, let us recollect the boasted motto of our dear country, *Nemo me impune lacessit*, and hurl merited destruction upon all its external and internal foes. To my conception, nothing can be clearer, than that an ample apology should be made to my royal associate Colonel Crichton, by Mr. Calder, for the degrading term stupid, which he was pleased to bestow on a declamation, that, in some instances at least, had extorted applause from many of its patriotic hearers in this very assembly, who have nevertheless patiently submitted to be so far insulted by the abusive epithet, bestowed on our defender's enlightened exhortation, only now noticed by myself. At this instant up sprung the great, tall Colonel Crichton, not unlike Goliath of Gath, when contrasted with a body, which perhaps has a nearer comparative similitude to the inexperienced shepherd, who in the name of little David, bid defiance to the gigantic Philistine, that had presumptuously challenged the whole host of Israel to single combat. I could not well avoid casting a despondent look at my huge opponent and his not less mighty armour bearer, till it struck me, that fortified with the sling of reason, and the adamant stone of truth, one or other of my powerful combatants might be levelled with the ground, in spite of the fearful odds, of nearly three hundred to one, in this species of cockfighting. At this crisis of my fate, I shall do my mercantile brethren, especially those of the tribe of Joseph and Gad, the

justice to declare, that the returning sense of fair play began to assume a bolder front in words, groans, and hisses, against the heroic orator, who reluctantly yielded, for once in his life, perhaps, to the general voice of the people. Like a little Bantam, determined to have one hard peck at least at the great *fuge* cock in a country school, or as a blunt rustic who knows well enough how to make hay while the sun shines, the moment seemed too precious to lose, and required immediate presence of mind.

I therefore seized it with avidity, shook my feathers, clapped my wings, and crowed lustily *Io Pœan, Python* is at last in my power, in the following words: Mr. Preses, and Gentlemen of this respectable assembly, I have heard with equal astonishment and indignation the unfounded charges of treason and sedition, which the worthy Colonel Crichton has dared to adduce, in a crowded meeting of my fellow-citizens, against me and those of the subscribers to the Union Canal, whose sentiments are in unison with my own. I appeal to your impartial judgment, and unfettered good sense, whether or not I am the man, in this full and honourable assemblage of fellow Merchants and Bankers, who has the best, if not the only right to demand an ample apology for the capital crimes, with which my name has been here most scandalously branded by the royal Colonel. In genuine loyalty, according to the true etymology of the term, as implying a sincere attachment to the enviable laws of my native country, with the King at their head as the legitimate guardian and protector of our glorious constitution, I will yield nothing to the brave Colonel, or to any other person who now hears me, whatever their notions of blind, passive obedience, and non-resistance to the divine rights of Magistrates on the score of coals and Canals, may be. With such sentiments, as a good subject of a limited monarchy, I have reason both to pity and despise every malicious shaft that may be here, or elsewhere darted, either at my loyalty in the citizen, or my integrity in the man, because I feel perfectly convinced, that it must sooner, or later recoil with tenfold force, on the head and heart which may

strive to hurl destruction on conscious innocence, though in the jaundiced eyes of jealous policy, with its senseless cry about church and state, this may for a while, be metamorphosed to, and denounced as, guilt of the darkest hue. Impressed, therefore, as I am, Mr. Preses, respecting the ultimate issue of all this unmerited persecution of myself and the Union Canal, I shall not expect any apology from the gallant Colonel, whatever he may demand, at the Lord Provost's suggestion, from Mr. Calder; nay more, in the true spirit of Christian charity, I so far forgive (tho' I cannot forget) his calumnious phillipic, from the bottom of my heart, and I freely leave this meeting to judge between his deserts and my demerits, through the whole proceedings in the business still on the carpet. I now sat down amidst the cheers and plaudits of my hearers, for which they are entitled to my lasting gratitude, though upon other matters I may yet differ widely from them, in the course of my subsequent letters. To the best of my recollection, the worshipful Assistant of the Company, the worthy Colonel, attempted to vindicate his conduct by asserting, that pardon has been proffered for offences which he was not sensible of having committed, and that a speech had been condemned as stupid, which was not exclusively his own. He then persisted in reading, amidst the increasing clamour and confusion, what were termed resolutions by the Master and Assistants; but the noise was progressively so great, that I could only make out one, to stamp the Union Canal Committee's resolutions as infamous, on their records; another, to burn them by the hands either of the common hangman or their own officer; a third, to procure an order from the Lord Ordinary, to search my house and seize all the papers in my possession about the Union Canal; a fourth, to inhibit my writing or speaking farther on that subject, in such terms as could give the least offence to the City authorities, or at all tend to lessen the merited esteem and grateful confidence of the middle and lower classes of the community towards their princely benefactors, the coal and land proprietors of Mid-Lothian; fifth, to compel the scandalous owner and reporter of the Committee's resolutions to defray all and every charge, which

has yet been incurred, or that may eventually spring therefrom, by such advertisements as we may find necessary to publish in our own defence, in compliance with the prudent resolution, formerly proposed by Mr. A. Anderson, seconded by Mr. Richard Bannatyne, and duly carried. [That no part of the funds of the Company shall be applied in any manner toward defraying any expence to be incurred in, and concerning the Union Canal, or in and concerning the preliminary measures, or any other measure flowing from, or connected therewith, and the Committee therefore guarantee to defray all such contingent charges from their own pockets.] The long string of resolutions terminated, I was informed, by a motion for my immediate expulsion from the Merchant Company, and confiscation of the round sum which I advanced as admission fees among that worshipful society. It is out of my power, Gentlemen, positively to assert, that the above is a verbatim copy of Colonel Crichton's, or the Master and Assistants, intended resolutions, because at this period we were all involved in something liker a discordant row of pedlars at an Irish fair, than the calm dignified discussion of a Union Canal, by a company of discreet Scottish merchants. Should I have inadvertently been led into any blunders, either of aggravation or extenuation, these can certainly be corrected from the original MSS. no doubt in the worthy baronet Sir John Hay's hands, who, in the most genteel style, avowed to the meeting his intention to second them, from which, however, he had been diverted by something that was drowned from my ears, in the conflicting clash of many louder tongues. In the general confusion, I overheard the noble Colonel loudly insisting, that his resolutions originated with the Master and Assistants, of which honoured body he was only a simple fellow, who need not father them more than his graver associates; at the same time, one or two of the members modestly, but strenuously, disclaimed all knowledge of, or participation in their fabrication, and defied the gallant orator to persist in palming his own productions on the Merchant Company or the world, as an emanation of their supreme and united

councils, when they could prove, that they never had before seen them, or even heard of their existence, in such shape or form.

If I have been denounced for circulating accredited papers, which no one has yet disowned, at my own responsibility entirely, what treatment does that man deserve, who, in the face of three hundred people, had the audacity to impose on them his own crude, defamatory charges, and consequent harsh measures against me, as the deliberative act of a Committee, when he was merely a compeer, or civil aid-de-camp to that very grand Master, who never yet has attempted to deny what I have published respecting his own and my proceedings in our Committee. No public notice or censure has yet appeared of this unjustifiable behaviour on the part of the Martial assistant of the Worshipful Company, though a very severe and unjust sentence has been passed, in a notorious *ex parte* advertisement, against me, for a much smaller offence, in all the Newspapers of this city, by an authority, which I hold quite unavailing to filch my good name from me, among those of my countrymen, whose esteem is really worth the preserving or winning in such a dispute as the present.—For this outrage, and others therewith connected, I have been seriously advised to seek redress from the pure Courts of impartial justice in this place; but with all the reverence for such unspotted tribunals, I am in some measure excluded from them by the beneficent Mr. Anderson's precautionary motion already noticed, respecting every expence that might attend or result from our Committee's exertions about rival Canals, unless, indeed, I feel resigned, or rich enough to pay all the costs and damages myself, that the charitable funds of the Company may suffer no detriment from the imprudent zeal of any person prematurely to support their widows, orphans, or decayed members, with cheap coals and water carriage. Curiosity will naturally enough be excited to learn, whence the money for the printed anathemas against my character in the public prints, will be advanced; for surely, after what has passed on that score by the Company's parsimonious members, it cannot well be drained from their treasury,

though I, for one, can hardly conceive any other source, if myself and persecuted brethren of the Committee, shall escape scot free from such a burden. In my own name, I here most sincerely protest against all such implied responsibility upon my shoulders, however well disposed, the Convener, and other members of the Canal Committee may feel to relieve the Society's purse from so unwarrantable an expence; and I do trust, that the faithful treasurer of our poor's funds will, in due time learn, that I for one, wash my hands clean from all and every such depredation, on the money appropriated solely to the charitable purposes of our provident Corporation, reserving nevertheless, my right to inspect his books on this subject in due season.

It is full time to relinquish my aberrations, and once more revisit the great Hall, where I was arraigned, tried, and condemned, without a proper Judge, Jury, or any thing in the shape of evidence, being in fact denied the freedom of speech in my own behalf, till most, if not all the intended evil was accomplished against me. Silence was hardly restored, by the sanguinary speech and resolutions of Colonel Crichton, receiving their *quietus* from the general execrations of the Merchant Company, when three or four very independent members made some pertinent observations, nearly to this effect, that it was difficult to determine whether the Colonel's oration, or the fabricated string of resolutions was really the most infamous, that both were most disgraceful to the meeting, and ought to be reprobated accordingly. One gentleman stated his surprise, that many, if not all the Members of the Committee, with the Convener at their head, appeared now to be withdrawing their sanction from the resolutions, though nothing of this sort was minuted in the face of their proceedings, and he added that the mere circumstance of some exceptionable expressions, on the score of levity, could not, in his judgment, invalidate the weight of those resolutions, which had nothing obnoxious about them. Among other speakers, Mr. Anderson, to the best of my recollection, maintained the propriety of hearing me patiently, in my own vindication, and at this period also Sir

John Hay began to conceive, the business of the Union Canal * was, properly speaking, before the Meeting, in preference to every other. This remark from the worthy Baronet, encouraged me to persist in being heard, but I was immediately interrupted, because my unexceptionable resolutions were printed, which was stated to be against the rules of the Corporation. On reference to the clerk, he could not assert positively that any such regulation existed, I was therefore proceeding to read them, till peremptorily ordered by Sir John Hay to desist from intruding with resolutions as excerpts in print, which had previously been read to the Company in MS. although they be in every other respect perfectly admissible. He continued, that as the

* The citizens of Edinburgh cannot yet be so well aware of the incalculable advantages of regular passage-boats between it and Glasgow, as the inhabitants of this last city already are, from their experience of this comfortable mode of travelling to Falkirk, Greenock, &c. which has, in fact, almost entirely superseded the use of Mail-coaches and land carriage in general, wherever these come in competition with water conveyance. Loss of time, comfort, health, limbs, and even life itself, are all greatly avoided, at a comparatively small expense, in a convenient boat, where sound sleep may be enjoyed all night, and business, innocent amusement, or literary studies, can be prosecuted the whole day, with little or no interruption from irksome confinement, incessant pecuniary demands, bad weather, roads, horses, and a long catalogue of the little galling miseries of human life, to which an excursion on shore, however short, is constantly obnoxious. A man in business, whose precious time forms no small share of his stock in trade, will be enabled, through the Union Canal passage-boats, to open a most profitable Dr. and Cr. account with sleep, in all his excursions between Glasgow and Edinburgh. With a small share of common prudence, he may balance his books at the close of each revolving year, by a round sum to the credit of profit and loss on time saved by night voyages, which, moreover, will enable him to start from the snug birth of a boat as light as a lark in the morning, perform his intermediate duties in the way of his profession or calling, and, in the evening, return back towards his fixed abode, in the self-same pleasant way he left his own home, without having suffered much unnecessary fatigue on these journies, which will have been comfortably performed at a moderate expense, both of money and time.

printed papers had been widely circulated, even so far as Liverpool, the meeting ought to stamp the whole proceedings of the Committee, and the person who had taken the responsibility on his own shoulders, with their marked displeasure. I attempted to withdraw the whole; this was overruled, and they were unanimously rejected, stigmatized, and consigned to expulsion from all the records of the Company, lest their immaculate documents should be contaminated by resolutions, which I shall never disown, merely from the irony they are supposed to contain, against the protectors of impracticable Canals, and lovers of dear coals.

It may here be asked, how the above decree was passed without one dissenting voice. The answer is obvious, that many of the Meeting had previously retired in disgust, at the violence and party-spirit manifested during the debates; not a few were fearful of being calumniated as traitors, if they ventured to differ in opinion from magisterial dictators and their satellites; and I, very naturally, to save much time that would otherwise have been uselessly sacrificed, preferred the ejection of the Committee's resolutions, from the honourable archives of the Worshipful Merchant Company, to the risk of becoming myself, a projected foot-ball from so powerful a fraternity, whose van in the assault on me, was led on by no less a personage than Mars; while the rear seemed under the discreet guidance of the wise and warlike Minerva. A similar reason may be assigned for the compulsory unanimity which followed, as the Members were dispersing from a body that had been first becalmed for a whole hour in a needless rehearsal of a long report, and then tossed on the ocean of malignant passions like a ship carrying more sail than ballast, into a furious storm, without either a helm or pilot, to preserve her from the shallows and rocks, which were too apparent on all hands. About this stage of the business, Mr. A. Gibson, seconded by Sir John Hay, and Mr. Bannatyne, carried two motions also unanimously,—to thank the Master and Assistants, for preserving the purity of their records, and for maintaining the honour and respectability of the Company; as also, the Right

Honourable the Lord Provost and Magistrates, for their indefatigable zeal, public spirit, candour, and impartiality, evinced by them upon all occasions, more especially in the line of conduct adopted respecting the Union Canal. † These resolutions terminated the labours of the eventful day, with a motion for adjournment, made by Mr. James Bell, and seconded by Mr. Samuel Anderson, which was insisted upon, after nine members vainly gave in their votes still to proceed; and thus the Union Canal so far received its *coup-de-grace* from the honourable Company of Merchants in Edinburgh, though it had previously been sanctioned by the great majority of those trades and corporations in the city, who may aspire to be deacons, but never dare look to the lofty seat of a Right Honourable Lord Provost, or yet less worshipful office of civic Baillie; consequently they must always remain incompetent judges of practicable canals and cheap coals, even had my papers and self been sacrificed, as intended, by way of an *auto de fe*, to illumine their mechanical minds on so dark a subject.—These matters are better organized in the English metropolis, where the talents, integrity, and moral character of a man, as Lord Mayor, are not measured

† The Old and New rival Shipping Companies of Edinburgh and Leith may hail this Union as the harbinger of glad tidings, not only to them, but to many yet unformed, which will as instinctively arise from the well-feathered nests of their successful predecessors, as the shadow follows the substance, or the sparks fly upwards. On similar principles, one judicious Canal will progressively give birth to the same beneficial competition for the Glasgow and Edinburgh public, on fresh water, that has already been experienced by the two great British Capitals by sea, though the projectors of the salt water conveyance were never forced or expected to court the smiles, or deprecate the wrath of the right honourable heads of the two cities in question, before their schemes were brought to maturity; and they have not fared the worse for thus possessing that independent spirit and manly courage, which must be congenial with the feelings of every British merchant, in all his efforts to improve the dearest interests of his country, by its two best pillars, agriculture and commerce.

merely by the yards of cloth which he may have put through his hands, nor by the pounds of butter he may have weighed out to customers, nor even by the number of bank-notes, or bottles of wine, he may have circulated among his fellow citizens; on the contrary, the mason, smith, baker, and tradesman of every description are equally eligible for the civic chairs, with the chapman or trader, in most if not all, the corporate towns in the empire, those of Scotland excepted. This circumstance alone, to the discriminating mind, will account for some of those political differences that exist on opposite sides of the Tweed, in questions which occasionally make the middle and lower classes of society view things with another eye than their superiors, or those under such influence, can possibly do, with a due regard to their future prospects of rank, honours, wealth, and social comfort, since it is not easy to believe that—

Auro pulsa fides, auro venalia jura,

Aurum lex sequitur, mox sine lege pudor;

or deem, with many wise men, “the post of honour is a private station,” when

“Aurum omnes victa pietate colunt.”

To the very worthy Baronet, who felt so indignant at my printed papers reaching Liverpool, I embrace, with pleasure, this opportunity of declaring, through the medium of a free press, that the whole of them, with all my printed letters, shall, in due season, be dispatched to every region of the world where I have friends, to judge between him and me in the pending contest, though the result should lead to my expulsion from that honourable corporation, whose meeting, Sir John Hay deigns to grace with his great name and countenance on particular occasions. It may be very true, that I cannot boast of his illustrious descent, neither can I enumerate a long string of graceful connections, nor count my hundreds of thousands with him, any more than I can display in large assemblies the most profound knowledge, with that fascinating smile, and affable deportment, which captivates the hearts, while it il-

lumines the heads of all who are fortunate enough to enjoy his company and conversation; nevertheless, I cannot conscientiously reckon myself his inferior, either in sterling loyalty as a good subject, in a limited monarchy, or in common honesty, as a well-meaning member of any community. In happier times, I did participate in the superlative felicity of acquaintance with the worthy Baronet, when simple Mr. Hay; and I have honestly to acknowledge the many cautions he gave me, as a friend, when on the eve of commencing the banking business, in which I have since been engaged, independent of the countenance which I received, in that capacity, from the deservedly prosperous and liberal house of Sir William Forbes & Co. Truth forces me, however, to add, that from the period I presumed to issue notes, and waited on my brother Banker, the worthy Baronet, to solicit a continuation of his good offices, I was upbraided for expecting, that any man would lend me a knife to cut his own throat, which made me feel, indeed, that my knowledge of the world and mankind was limited within very narrow bounds, when I had fondly trusted, that the great house of Sir William Forbes & Co. could never take offence at an infant establishment for issuing notes, on so small a scale as mine.—Here, I was egregiously mistaken, and Sir John Hay forthwith either cut with me, or *vice versa*, and on my part it never entered into my head, to exchange a word with him on this side the grave, till he came to second an infuriated attack on my life and character, for reasons best known to himself and friends. I defy both him and them to bring me in guilty before a jury of my free countrymen, of any serious offence against either the state, or the worshipful Merchant Company, which can subject me justly to one half of what I have already suffered, by their unwarrantable anathema against me; nay, more, I pledge myself to defend every word of the persecuted Resolutions, against any person who shall appear at the public bar with his real name, as neither indecorous nor impertinent, in a land of rational freedom, such as this blessed country will, I trust, remain to the latest posterity. No sooner was it bruited abroad, that I was de-

nounced as a traitor by my fellow-citizens, and on the eve of expulsion from the worshipful Merchant Company, than fear fell on some of my friends, and particularly on a most respectable constituent of our house, who in his terror for the consequences, withdrew, almost at a moment's warning, **NEARLY FOURTEEN THOUSAND POUNDS**, and lodged it, I believe in Sir William Forbes & Co's bank, with a previous menace, that if the money was not instantly paid, he would consult the partners of that firm about the legal steps to be taken against our house. I do not pretend to account for this strange occurrence, but simply to lay the fact before the public to prove, what injury may be done to a Banker or Merchant by any unfounded imputation adverse to his loyalty or his worldly wisdom; and that there exists even in this happy kingdom, more ways of destroying an innocent man, than by the axe or the halter. Far be it from me to imagine, that either of the worthy Baronets, who benefited by the transfer of the above cash from our house to theirs, had any such mean object in view, when they joined Colonel Crichton in his persecution of me; on the contrary, I am certain, that one of them at least will regret so extraordinary a coincidence, as this just stated, because from the bottom of my heart, I believe him to be an upright, honourable, benevolent gentleman, (whatever judgment I may form of his politics,) who wishes well to all mankind, and was induced rather from inadvertency than design, to join the hue and cry against a man, who never in his life had offended him by thought, word, or deed. The very weight of Sir William Forbes's name is alone heavy enough to crush a branded being like me, in many people's estimation, to atoms; for the higher he deservedly ranks in public opinion, the greater is the injury to which I am exposed by his hostility. A stone falling from one story might, only stun me, while from a third, or fourth floor, it would not fail of knocking me in the head completely, whatever the head and hand might intend, which hurled it upon me as a disloyal subject of the land. Against so amiable a character I shall never harbour any uncharitable feelings, nor do I despair of yet learning that

Sir William Forbes will even allow, that I am not quite so bad as the malice, envy, and revenge, of some designing men have painted me in the good Baronet's apprehension. With him I wish to live in peace, though distant as the poles on the subject of Reform, and with all men, who do not by their conduct, and accusations betray a thirsting after innocent blood, which is so disgraceful to a Christian land.—At all events, I shall depend on my own pen for defence in the free press of this glorious country, and on my right arm, when attacked by the voluntary bravo or hired assassin.

There is, I believe, a man, in or near this capital, who can, if he pleases, mention the creeping reptile that alarmed him about his *Fourteen Thousand Pounds*, while for one week only in the dangerous hands of a denounced demagogue, as I then was, under the persecution of a host of magisterial philistines. As the thing cannot possess a soul qualified to animate, in any future existence, a lobster, a flea, or even a louse, I shall not pollute these sheets by either a hunt or a crack after it, but leave the nit unmolested any farther, to hatch and prey on the next blockhead it may nestle on with similar fears, for they never can again affect me as a banker.

Oppressed with endless taxation, additional stamp duties, successive losses through bankrupts, ceaseless importunities for * royal con-

* These for German sufferers, monuments to great men, wounded soldiers and sailors, their hapless widows and orphans, with a whole string of *et ceteras*, haunted my waking hours by day, and disturbed my dreams by night, with some profound cogitations on the nature and tendency of so many incessant demands on my purse, drained to the dregs, by some expensive indiscretions of my own, several unavoidable burdens, but, more particularly by endless taxation. Still the mischief did not stop here, because the sturdy beggars who vociferated for this proof of royal charity, sometimes insinuated, that there could not be a more convincing test of true Royalty, than a certain sum opposite to my name in the general subscription. I used to urge, in vain, that the produce of useless sinecures, enormous salaries, and unworthy disbursements of the public money, should certainly be appropriated to the benevolent and laudable collection of

tributions, deserted by every aristocratical friend, and thwarted by such nefarious practices as I have detailed in this pamphlet, it was needless for me to strive in any partnership with the overwhelming stream of local influence and prejudice any longer, for, in such a predicament, adequate success was out of the question in respect to two individuals, whatever one may ultimately accomplish, in the way of requisite exertion, for a mere living.

These considerations obliged me to wash my hands of the Edinburgh bank some months ago, and so far, if possible, put malignity itself at defiance, having thus nothing to hope or fear, as a man in business, from either my few equivocal friends, or open and secret enemies. In short, without this previous qualification, such is the thralldom of the good town, I could not possibly have appeared as a Radical Reformer, nor can I, knowing such to be the case, with any propriety,

funds, to aid the miserable and unfortunate of our own country first, consigning the surplus, if any, to foreigners in distress also.

I urged as an additional motive for such application of national funds, instead of private contribution, that we were thereby proclaiming to the ministers, that the *ne plus ultra* of local exaction could never be consistent either with such munificent donations, or even with the idea of great accumulating wealth, in saving banks belonging to the poor of a country, said to be fast sinking with debt and consequent assessments, viz. property, legacy, and a thousand other taxes, all, more or less, oppressive, particularly to a man who was not in the way of his profession receiving one farthing of the public money, or of the saving bank funds, which invariably land in the hands of some royalist or other, as too precious a deposit for a simple loyalist like me. To those who wished to talk me into the general vortex of Patriotic Subscribers, I invariably observed, that if my bank made one-tenth part of the profit at the hands of Government, which other favoured houses did yearly, I would for every ten pounds opposite their name, write twenty at mine, as a comparative view of Loyalty *versus* Royalty in such exhibitions. I would be glad to know why they who are so favoured, or have their salaries progressively increased, far beyond the ratio of accumulating taxes, should think any national burden a sacrifice, whatever my feelings may be to the contrary; since we never hear of official salaries being reduced to the level whence they mounted, when the cause of such ascent is removed.

blame many a murmuring citizen here, for not yet speaking out, at the peril of losing, if not his life, the very staff of it, viz. his daily bread, to the inevitable ruin of his self and helpless family. In short, from the day I commenced business as a Banker, with one who, in less prudent moments, had been a steady, though moderate and rational friend of the people, every low art was employed to crush and depress the concern by all possible means, one of which has been amply detailed in pages 41, &c. The Banks, for a long period, would not receive our notes, and the public offices acted upon similar principles; nay, one aristocratic Baronet cut a parcel of thirty small notes in two, and wondered at our presuming to question his right thus to insult a plebeian establishment, when we dared to remonstrate on the subject. When my name was ever mentioned by any of my wealthy, Indian friends, as a Banker, in the polite circles of Edinburgh, those looks, shrugs, and sneers, which very significantly speak unutterable things, exposed a suspected democratic bank, to get nothing but the skimmed milk of pecuniary deposits, while grimace and dumb shew carried the whole cream of my acquaintance's business to some more congenial depository. I must confess, there has been one or two exceptions to this equivocal friendship, and I shall ever esteem my *confidants* as they deserve, whatever opinion I may form of those who gave me a pound's worth of trouble, for every farthing of profit by their concerns, and left me unaided by any countenance whatever, to sink or swim by my own exertions alone. I will not deny, that my want of success, as a Banker, has been mainly attributed to my expensive wire-works, and many a bitter taunt have I borne on this everlasting topic, though, to my dying day, my creed shall be, that the pair of political Black Birds, either connected with or in the Cage-house, was the real cause of my failure, however much some other circumstances of lesser moment might have also contributed to circumscribe my circulation, as issuer of Bank Notes.

Last year the Dublin free Press exhibited a memorable instance of a desperate bankrupt, trying to retrieve his broken fortunes,

through the body and blood of a loyal Catholic, who, though goaded to the fatal combat, escaped unhurt; not so the champion of men, who might have been seconds in the fray, but prudently allowed their friend to fire the first shot and fall, never to rise again, from its consequences. The dead body was buried without the usual inspection and investigation by a Coroner's Jury ostensibly, that the fortunate combatant might not be interrupted in his numerous professional duties, though the Dublin Evening Post gave a different version of this breach of law and professed lenity. Some subsequent paragraphs in it state, that many curious circumstances might have transpired before an inquisitive Jury, which, however creditable to the martial spirit of a military alderman, defunct, could not have shed great lustre on his principles and prudence, nor say much on the pugnacious propensities of the body corporate, of which the deceased was a member, at whose lamented death, the Corporation at once sunk into a *caput mortuum*, which has nevertheless confirmed the resurrection of the Dead, by recent miracles performed on the shores of Ierne, Old England, and the superlatively Royal kingdom of France. The annexed effusion may serve as a poetical commentary on the closing line of the above text, as well as on several portions of, and anecdotes in these pages. In that very capital, this year again, has the same challenged individual been forced to submit to another fiery trial, along with one of his political supporters, but fortunately for their families, the Government put them under legal restraint, while it generously permitted their royal opponents to clap their wings unmolested on the French shore, and crow over the Channel, as true game cocks, to the supposed *fugazs*, who durst not approach the cockpit. Are these dirty tricks fair in a land of freedom like this?

*A trinity of Capitals combine,
In one grand plot their sapient heads to join,
That Freedom may in fetters fast be bound,
While all her sons are either hanged or drowned.
First, fair Augusta binds their feet from walking,
Edm discreet, ties up each tongue for talking;*

To print, think, hint, or paragraphs to write
 About Reform, *she* deems it madness quite,
 Nay, calls Reformers blockheads, knaves, or fools,
 Who dare to scorn *discretion's prudent rules*,
 And drives them from her walls, as *pests* away.
Vile Demagogues! who paste up bills by day:
 Or in the dead of night, while others sleep,
 In hunting rats—their catlike vigils keep,
 With such a noise, and cursed cater-wauling,
 As must disturb each Royal Statesman's calling.
 Out screams Edina's owl—Grimalkins fell!
 At my command, begone! I hear the bell,
 To toll you one and all in chains to hell.
 Next comes, *Ierne's Capitol* in play!
 To Pat—the garrison indignant say,
 If one prim'd pistol, or a cudgel you
 Present to any of our Royal crew!
 We mean to *Peel* and bruise your cursed root,
 And choke you with it—for a perfect brute.
 What! you pretend to fire at Johnny Bull?
 Or call him Jerry Sneak—you blundering fool!
 Behold his Second! why this mighty row?
 A full fed, royal, English, sacred cow,
 With horns becoming its long dirty tail,
 Which in foul jobs, are never found to fail.
 On her broad back, behold the *tyrant death!*
 With *Priests and Sextons* running out of breath,
 Aims his fell dart—at honest Paddy's fame,
 For duel combats—though a cock of game,
 Nay, dares to brand him with a *coward's name*.
 The servile rear-guard join the courtly cry
 To bid Pat live—because afraid to die.
 Till the bold Post of Dublin, Truth proclaims
 To Liffy, brother Forth, and father Thames.
 That I from England's end may sound this lay,
 By Johnny Grot's house—to the Giant's way;
Magna est veritas—et prevalebit O!
 It was, it is, and shall by Jove—be ever so.

Much about the period of my Canal tribulation, when an advertisement in the public papers by the Merchant Company, tantamount to an arbitrary act of expulsion made its appearance, and before I could procure admittance to the Edinburgh press for my own vindication, I was by report, menaced with an ignominious ejection from the Royal Society, the East India Club, and from the Congregation where I always attended divine service. In short I felt for some short time like a person excommunicated from civil society, merely because I had dared to defend myself against the most ungenerous, unmanly attack, that ever was made by a Corporate body upon one solitary member, who had merely done his duty, as an honest man, and who was determined at the risk of every thing, not to prove such a coward as lose his presence of mind, and forsake himself, if the whole world even had turned out against him. From all the events which have followed in succession since my memorable bear-beating in the Merchant Hall, I am more confirmed in the propriety of the whole of my conduct, in support of the Union Canal, which besides many a watchful night and day, cost me for printing alone about forty pounds, for the refund of which, after repeated ineffectual applications, I am entirely indebted to a Gentleman, whose honesty of heart is equalled by the clearness of his head, and the soundness of his judgment on every subject. This worthy man nevertheless, did not escape the bull which was fulminated at the whole body of subscribers, as seditious incendiaries, (if the reporters told the truth) in the House of Commons, when by some slight of hand management, poor Mr. Urban Union was kicked very unfairly out of doors, to make room for a black twin brother of his, named Mr. Dicky Discord, who is now choking on that very bone of contention, that stuck in his gizzard, from the moment I publicly announced, that the subscribers to the Canal, laid down by Mr. Baird, were as upright men, and good loyal subjects, as any one of the mighty Dons, who, right or wrong, thought proper to oppose them. I continue to cherish and proclaim the selfsame sentiments to this very day, and probably shall do so, while I remain free

from manacles, and a Parliamentary gag in my mouth, and even then I would think so, in spite of the devil and all hisimps.

The Union Canal would have given an ample supply of water to the town gratuitously, but their stream was indignantly rejected as too impure for so limpid a fountain of water policy as the magistrates can boast, in all its meanders round or through our lofty Troy, That the Grand Canal, so long in prospective, as an aquatic Leviathan, must speedily appear, there can be little doubt, as I, the poor *Jonas*, so long in the Beast's belly, have some reason to prophesy, that each eye in this Whale's blubber-head, is to spout out a magnificent *jet d'eau* in the Royal Citizens' faces, being the welcome herald of the still more beautiful fireworks, that are to decorate the rear, or enormous tail, of the rising *Mammoth*, from old Ocean's bed, agreeably to my faint sketch of the prospective scene, in pages 94 and 95.

I must here revert to a part of one letter to the Editors of the Star, which escaped me till now, viz. The comparative merits of the Union Canal, have been already, and are now before or within the reach of every inhabitant of this enlightened metropolis, by means of various pamphlets and papers published or circulated in its defence, either under acknowledged responsibility, or real names; while, on the contrary, every publication from its adversaries, has to this day been anonymous. This plain fact alone, speaks volumes to the ingenuous mind, and, *prima facie*, betrays the cloven-footed weakness of that very cause which literary productions, otherwise sufficiently impotent, cannot possibly support, in the estimation of the just and fair tribunal, to which, with your permission, Gentlemen, I am doing what in me lies, to appeal. Should a person under his own signature from inadvertency or design state, what a learned author has shrewdly denominated, a *false fact*, in aid either of a good or bad measure, he is a tangible object in the way of judgment, correction, or punishment; but when a man in the clouds condescends to shine upon weak understandings, one is generally at

a loss to discriminate the light of reason and truth, from the *ignis fatuus* of selfish policy, occasionally visible enough through the partial corruscations of a dark lantern.

When a known writer on one side of a question asserts, defends, condemns, insinuates, calculates, predicts, ridicules, and confounds, if he can, it must all be done at his own risk in purse, person, and character; while the *ignotus* or *ignoramus*, on the other hand, has nothing to fear from detection and exposure, with every thing to hope, from the eventful success of his cloudy lucubrations, whether founded on sound or false principles, as his main object will naturally be to mislead, rather than inform his readers; otherwise he never would be ashamed of stamping his statements and logic with "a local habitation and a name." The man who does so may be termed presumptuous, hypocritical, selfish, unjust, foolish, nay, too jocular on grave subjects; but, before a true bill can justly be found against him for such enormous crimes and heinous offences, surely it is but justice first to hear or read his defence. On the contrary, every anonymous writer against the Union Canal, may fairly, while under that veil, be treated by its friends as a man in the moon, when his egotism is in the singular form, or as the Devil on Two Sticks, should Satan assume the majestic garb of a pluralist. Nay, I myself, or the other subscribers to the Union Canal, may indulge our suspicions with impunity, and Hamlet one and all of these gentry, including the *Candid Remarker*, nay, the grand new Canal itself, by exclaiming when we view the monster in pages 94, 95, and 99—

Angels and ministers of grace defend us,
Be thou a spirit of health, or goblin damn'd;
Bring with thee airs from heaven, or blasts from hell,
Be thy intents wicked or charitable,
Thou comest in such a questionable shape,
That I will speak with thee.

It has been asserted, upon good authority, that the Mid-Lothian Coal proprietors have most generously disclaimed all connection with

the anonymous pamphlet, which called forth a most able reply from Mr. Grahame; and as I cannot for a moment imagine that the second unacknowledged publication, under the title of Remarks, &c. can have the smallest support from, or connection with, the Right Honourable the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, or the very liberal minded Coalmasters in the vicinity, I intend, *Deo volente*, in a subsequent letter or two, (after the introduction of some previous matter), to trouble you with my free strictures, or cursory remarks, on the Candid Remarker, *in nubibus* also, like all his predecessors in this paper warfare.

In short, my character from the pains taken to blacken it, in the Newspapers and Merchant Hall, had become so very suspicious, as to make the learned and acute President of the Royal Society, Sir James Hall, about the period in question, throw cold water on a philological paper of mine, which was read by me at one of the evening Class meetings, though I cannot conceive there was any thing more inflammatory in it, than some glowing expressions about the march of the human mind, to the millennium of perfection in every art and science, including the noble one of Political Government and Economy.—Since that night, the Society have never been intruded upon by my company or lucubrations, as I have preserved the last for promulgation soon, in another form and place.

From the Union Canal, the transition to the *Wellington Bridge* is much more natural and easy, than the substitution of *Regent* for the former popular cognomen, by which the projected edifice has long been familiarly known among the inhabitants of this truly considerate and royal city. In my estimation, his Grace's merited fame cannot suffer the smallest diminution, by his name being seasonably abstracted from an artificial high way to the common judgment-seat, jail, and gibbet of the place, for surely there can be no great honour conferred on the archetype of a permanent passage for every malefactor, who forfeits his life to the laws of his country, and paces for the last time in his existence, ruefully over a Regent causeway, to his long home. I, for one, am happy to think that the gallant

Marshal cannot now be so trodden upon, by wretches in the agonies of either merited or unmerited condemnation, for every man would naturally wish that his surname should rather prove the narrow path to honour and glory, than the broad high road to an ignominious death and an untimely grave. These being my sentiments, I trust the most noble Marshal's glorious name will be reserved, for discriminating a communication with some superb superstructure worthy of such an honour, suppose a castle, a camp, or an amphitheatre of the most magnificent dimensions and capacity, in this classic metropolis. How far the Lazzaroni of this economical Infirmary will attend to my suggestion, is another matter, for I really had forgotten that the Martial Duke is not rich enough to keep a table in more capitals than one, consequently no crumbs which fall from it, can find their way to this side of the Tweed, whatever may be the case with a more princely board.

Much has of late been written and expressed on the subject of Jury Trial in Civil Causes, and on the unanimity of Juries in their verdicts thereon, agreeably to the Law of England. Among the rest, my attention was attracted to this most interesting theme, on which I ventured to publish some crude notions of my own, in the *Caledonian Mercury*, and the reader will now meet with them, after a few introductory remarks here. As the College of Justice came originally from France, it would be vain to search after any thing in its constitution, very favourable to popular freedom, whatever claims it may otherwise have to profound legal sagacity, in the rational discrimination of Law, Justice, and Equity. Modified as at present, no freeman, or disinterested logician can, for one moment, admit, that the practice of deciding civil suits, involving property, real or personal, by a permanent Jury, appointed by the crown, can, in general, prove very consistent with the rights and liberties of the people, on this incontestible principle, that the *Judges* may be Lords of Session, but by no means the peers of suitors, whose rank in the country is, in general, deemed inferior to such a dignified and privileged assize. In England, on the contrary, the

Jury is taken from the great body of the very men, whose lives, fortune, and fame, must, *pro tempore*, depend upon the unanimous sentence of their equals, sitting in awful judgment on the dearest interests of a fellow citizen, who, in that perilous situation, is protected from private malevolence, party spirit, or despotic influence, by the glorious shield of that unanimous conviction of twelve men, known or supposed to be, from their stations, &c. in life, entirely free from all such unprincipled motives. That this has not been always the case here, we have only to refer to the history of Scottish Jurisprudence, Parliamentary appeals, and the popular feelings which have long existed on this very subject, to say nothing of an old anecdote, perfectly notorious to the whole country. Some short time after Oliver Cromwell's death, when legitimate Judges were re-established by the hereditary king, a citizen of Edinburgh happened to remark, in the presence of a Lord of Session, that he could not explain why the decisions by Oliver's Judges had met with general approbation, while those of the regal government were often reprobated for tyranny and injustice. His Lordship, in homely language answered, that there existed no difficulty in the matter, since it was well known, that the English Justices composed a poor bench of *kith and kinless bitches*, consequently could have no temptation whatever to lean either to the right or left side of even-handed justice. The good Burgess, in my opinion, might have retorted a Rowland on this Judicial wag, for his Oliver, by observing, "Very true, my Lord, every dog has his day, and as far as impartial awards were concerned, Cromwell's usurpation, by your own shewing, was by no means a night of judgments to the clients of the Scottish Courts."

What sentiments a disciple of Fletcher or Hampden may have on the Scottish Bench and Bar, as now constituted, may be easier conceived by an Englishman of the old school, or an American of the New Academy, than expressed by any individual within the jurisdiction of Judges, who can pass Acts of Sederunt, tantamount to similar powers in the three Estates of Parliament, and much

more arbitrary than any edict that can proceed from the King. This apprehension, shall not, however, prevent me from expressing no small surprise, that the whole Scottish nation has been lately treated by the Legislature, as mere *Albinos* in the dawn of freedom, whose weak optics could not all at once bear the effulgence of Jury Trial and unanimity, without that discreet adumbration by the Court of Session, which the Bill, in some of its clauses, has so admirably provided. But in what terms can I couch my wonder and amazement at the blindness of both shepherds and flock, on the plains of Scotia, who have not yet reflected, that though thus contemplated as sheer *lusus naturæ libertatis* in the eye of the law, they are so far favouring the deception, as at once to run the risk of stamping themselves, and children's children, with the indelible mark of Cain, as the liberticides of their native country, on the shores of which, the negro slave, nevertheless, cannot set his foot, without *instantly* becoming free. In short, until Jury Trial, and its palladium, unanimity, be universally adopted in Scotland, her vassalage must continue along with that tenderness of conscience, which at the same time, can patiently assimilate with the most scandalous abuses, and perjuries of venal Corporations, that ever disgraced any nation under the sun; if these continue to be what they were thirty years ago, and which I shall speedily publish to the world, unless my progress be arrested by some irresistible or omnipotent arm. In that event, even my papers have already been consigned to a quarter where they shall not rest with me unpublished or unknown, either in a prison or the grave.

That abuses exist in the mode of forming English Juries, and perhaps in some other matters connected with their assize, nobody means to dispute; but the very knowledge of the evil must lead to its cure, before incorporation with our customs, laws, and usages on the north of the Tweed; provided, that Government become more anxious to confer a real boon on the whole community of Caledonia, than to erect a perfect state-engine there, ornamented in front with a *delusive bass relief*, as the Temple of Justice.

When the Deacons and Conveners of the Trades' Corporations, are prevented by open and fair contracts for municipal work and jobs of every kind, from selling their constituents' liberties, rights, and privileges, for such lucrative considerations, into the hands of the Mercantile Chapmen, who, in most towns, deal largely in this species of white slave trade, the advantages of unlimited Jury Trials, and unanimous Verdicts, will be better understood than they can well be at present, as the first steps to relieve from a corruption, every bit as degrading and demoralizing in its effects, as Egyptian bondage.

SIR, Having observed two excellent letters in your paper of Saturday last, on the subject of Trial by Jury, I have been induced to take up my pen to recommend the serious perusal of those writers' remarks to my fellow-citizens, who have petitioned against the unanimity of verdicts in the civil or criminal law-suits of Scotland. When this matter came first under public discussion, I shall candidly admit, that my private sentiments were decidedly in favour of decision by majority, but from reading and hearing a great many sound arguments on the side of unanimity, my opinion has changed in favour of a doctrine, sanctioned by long practice, contrasted with one which chiefly rests upon rational theory. The boasted superiority of a mere majority, in capital cases, when compared with the wiser mode of regulating a verdict by three-fourths of the Jury (*viz.* nine opposed to three,) vanishes "like the baseless fabric of a vision," and leads the reflecting mind to wonder at the blind predilection, which the people of this country evince, for the solitary casting vote in their Juries, that must often affect the life or the property of an individual to its utmost extent. In all discussions which do not immediately decide on the existence or estate of any member of society, the omnipotence of a simple majority is of very little comparative consequence, and so far unites the voice of reason with experience in its behalf; but very different indeed are its consequences, when these involve the loss of life or property, on testimony

which does not appear as evident to twelve honest men as the light of noon day. Though Judges, who are seldom in this country the peers of the parties before them, may, with small inconvenience, differ in their judgment of the case, it is of essential moment, that a Jury of twelve, equals in rank and other circumstances, should be unanimously convinced of the rectitude of a verdict to be given for or against this or that man, who trusts his all to their united decision, after the most deliberate discussion among themselves, on every particular which has or can come before them. When the unanimity (or even three-fourths) of a Jury is required, either in civil or criminal trials, surely life or property is better protected, than when guarded by one vote only, which can sanction their decision in causes of vital importance; why not, therefore, try rather to adopt improvements from our English neighbours, or other nations, before we hastily discard the mere experiment of extended Jury trial, that our own most exceptionable mode may be preserved for ever with all its glaring evils. That certain classes of my countrymen may feel an instinctive horror against every thing in the shape of legal reform which appears in Scotland, is natural enough; but that the people in general should deliberately second such a feeling, is more than I can easily comprehend, unless on the exploded and absurd principle, that because hitherto life, limb, liberty, and property, have been all, in our own law courts, often at the mercy of a single casting vote, they must and shall continue so for ever. Let the reader only extend this apprehension to cases of sedition, treason, or any other state crime, and suppose for a moment that the Government of the country were to assume as despotic a form as it had some centuries back, would he, under such circumstances, prefer a single casting vote or the unanimity of a Jury for his self preservation, as a suspected, or even as an innocent man. Whence comes it, that almost every person, who has embraced liberal ideas on civil and religious freedom, is in the list of advocates for the unanimity of Juries, if they were not convinced of its salutary effects for the protection of the subject against arbitrary sway. While I lament that

many worthy ministers of the gospel in this country are, on the score of conscience, for mere majorities, I must confess that their opposition to unanimity startles me greatly, because it tacitly accuses those nations who have successfully adopted it, with something little short of wilful perjury. But, on this head, I shall refer them to your able correspondent's animadversions, mentioned in the beginning of this letter, in the hope that the clergy here can and will vindicate their opinions, that life and property are better protected by one casting vote, than by the unanimity of Juries, on scriptural or rational grounds. It may be here alledged, that I am deviating too much from the subject, by introducing criminal causes at all, as they are not contemplated in the pending bill—my reply is, that as life is dearer than property, we should at least defend them, *pari passu*, when such an opportunity as the present offers for incorporating the most valuable and least dangerous portion of English jurisprudence with our Scottish laws, more especially as we have quietly submitted to a similar innovation for half a century in the Court of Exchequer, with very little disadvantage to the subject or crown, and with great benefit to the public at large.

The force of truth and justice, aided by sound reason, appears, in my estimation, almost as irresistible on the consciences of twelve upright men, of common sense and education, for the purpose of securing unanimous conviction, as the most common proposition in arithmetic can be of producing the same effect among a million of people possessed of one rational idea.

We may probably, on this principle alone, account for the tenacity evinced by all the American States (after the revolution which sealed their independence) to preserve inviolate that very part of Jury trial which now seems so revolting to the Scottish pride or national feeling, overlooking the memorable circumstance of the first settlers, in many of the United States being driven from their native country for conscience sake, and yet, strange to tell, their descendants cling to the unanimity of Juries as one of their most valuable privileges, at a period when they could easily have

trampled such a stumbling block for ever under their feet. Any person who will take the trouble to consult the Constitution of the United States, must frequently observe the strong prepossessions which pervade every page of that work, in its details of their component parts, to perpetuate that grand palladium of civil rights, the *unanimity of Juries*. The people of New Jersey expressly declare, that the Common and Statute laws of England, as far as heretofore practised in that colony, and which are not repugnant to the rights and privileges contained in their charter, shall still remain in force, and that the *inestimable right of trial by Jury* shall remain confirmed, as a part of the law of this colony, *without repeal for ever*.

In Pennsylvania, trial by Jury is declared to be as heretofore, and the right thereof to remain inviolate.

No man, say the delegates of Maryland, ought to be found guilty of a crime, without the *unanimous* consent of an *impartial Jury*. The ancient mode of trial by Jury, in all controversies at law, respecting property, is denominated one of the best *securities of the rights of the people*, in North Carolina, and ought to remain sacred and inviolable. It is moreover announced, that no freeman shall be convicted of any crime, but by the *unanimous* verdict of a Jury of good and lawful men, in open Court, as heretofore used.

Nothing but the desire to curtail my lucubrations prevents the addition of many similar extracts, which all tend to prove that every denomination of Christians in the United States, however tender their consciences in other respects may be, willingly admit the *superexcellence of unanimity* in Juries, though they nevertheless preserve the conveniency of *respectable* majorities in matters of general moment, and thereby avoid the danger of *one casting vote* as far as they possibly can, while we in this part of the kingdom alone, cherish, on the contrary, a *single decisive voice* in our Law Courts as the very essence of true religion, liberty, and justice.

This anomaly in the opinions and practice of enlightened nations on matters of vital importance, demands all the consideration of the

profound philosopher, the able statesman and the sober citizen, it therefore opens a wide field [for temperate discussion, previous to any hasty or final decision on the grand point in question. The Americans have wisely reduced their capital crimes to a very limited number, but still shelter life and property with the *unanimity* of Juries; while we, who have made no such retrenchment, persist in exposing the party accused to the random throw of one solitary die, in this part of the empire called Scotland. That unanimous Juries have occasionally screened the guilty, is amply compensated by their having more frequently saved the innocent, and were this not even the case, merciful verdicts sometimes at least temper the severity of the Law or the Judge, in a moderate degree only, as the numerous executions in England, with all its popular unanimity of Juries, sufficiently evince.

Few will deny, that more deliberation is requisite to procure a coincidence of opinion among twelve men, than a mere majority, because in the former alternative each feels bound to assign some reason or other, why he will or will not be of the same mind with his brother Jurors, in the awful disposal of life or property, whereas in either a minority or majority, every member commonly finds adequate numerical countenance for his particular vote, whatever it may be, and is consequently less solicitous about its justice or propriety, when he heedlessly follows the flock of sheep, which have perhaps, instinctively run after some potent Ram, or more timid Wether, either on the right or wrong side of the Juridical Fold.

In the foregoing pages, I have endeavoured to inculcate the doctrine, that *unanimity*, or a majority of *three-fourths* in a Jury, was in every respect preferable to our vaunted mode of trusting the dearest interests of society to that solitary casting vote, which might often turn the scales of justice too capriciously, one way or other, as chance or the impulse of the moment might affect the Juror so placed, at whose eventful nod the life or property of a fellow subject thus hangs in the most awful suspense, with a fearful sentiment of future responsibility, which no prudent man will

contemplate without horror. If innocence have been sometimes the victim of corrupt or inadvertent *unanimities* in England, how much more is such a calamity to be dreaded wherever conviction of guilt may solely depend on the voice of one man; supposing the people, therefore, as men and Christians, in both countries on a footing of equality, it cannot be denied that the chance of committing injustice is greatly lessened by unanimous verdicts, and even in a numerical proportion by respectable majorities, why not then rather attempt the amendment of our own laws, than rudely thrust from us for ever the more salutary statutes of other countries. Some persons have alleged, that the good folks of Scotland are afraid of bringing on their several shoulders, by the proposed bill, more trouble than they are able or willing to bear for the common weal, which they discreetly conceive to be already placed, as far as justice is concerned, in better hands than their own; consequently, every innovation, however commendable, is decried as a needless burden on society, which should be resisted accordingly, and no argument can prove so powerful for this purpose as the plea of a *tender conscience*. This accusation must be built on a slender foundation indeed, when we advert to the patriotic sentiments of our countrymen, who certainly could never grudge a little extra labour in so noble a cause as doing justice to their fellow-citizens, in the honourable capacity of jurymen, either in civil or criminal suits.

The only rational pretence which the petitioners against the Jury Bill afford those who are in its favour, for the foregoing surmise, is the certain knowledge, that the measure embraces the unanimity of Juries as a *sine qua non*, and at this supposed vulnerable point alone all the arrows of self-interest, under the mask of a national purity of morals and religion, have been dexterously levelled, while the sinister views of those who hold the full charged quiver, are concealed from the very archers themselves, who have boldly advanced to the charge in defence of Scottish prejudice or political principles. These may be reasonable so far on the score of danger from perjury, but as long as numerous oaths are exacted in favour of many things,

besides Government customs and duties, in every part of the empire, without murmur or petition from those who must take them, I see no particular call for expressing the popular dread of the above crime being committed by Jurors in trials affecting property, or in defence of their accused peers, whom they must acquit or condemn unanimously, as is the custom among the freest, if not the best nations in the world, and which has even been so here in one of our most liberal Courts, during half a century. Are we never to embrace any improvement, because it exists in the laws of England, and not in those of our own country? For my part, it would give me real pleasure to see every thing good in the former adopted here, and all that is radically bad in both systems renounced forever; provided this change could be effected gradually, and without any greater concomitant evil, than the bare apprehension of a man perjuring himself, by a unanimous assent to the justice and truth of a proposition, which may in general be made as evident, as that two and two are four, in every quarter of the globe. The bugbears of confinement without any meat or drink, nay, the more formidable obstacle of one perverse juror, to the cause of unanimity, are extreme cases, and not, I believe, without an adequate remedy; the subject, therefore, should be left open for continued discussion, that petitions in favour of the pending bill may yet be procured, before it be too late to obtain such a boon from the Imperial Parliament, as the extension and reform of our jury trials, whatever a selfish overweening policy may desire, or a degrading apathy, among those deeply concerned in the general result of such a measure, may passively permit, to exclude the people of Scotland from such a blessing for ever. Were they respectfully to remonstrate against the practice of *packing* juries, of permitting a certain set of men from making a trade of this sacred right, or of any other abuses that may exist in the sister kingdom, which tend to lessen the inestimable privilege of jury trials, there can be no doubt of the Legislature lending a favourable ear to their suggestions, and the bill might consequently be so framed, as to meet the wishes of the

lies here, on liberal grounds, provided we cheerfully embrace *unanimity* as the great corner-stone of the whole fabric, which has already stood the test of ages amidst all the vicissitudes of political storms, and is fondly esteemed the *sheet anchor* of constitutional freedom, by the wise, the good, and the great of every party in the realm, with the solitary exception of numbers in our native land, who are acting under the impulse of interest, early prepossessions, or religious fears. That certain points of the bill are objectionable, most men will admit, and many will join in protesting against the inconvenience of putting the jury trial wholly in the power of any Judge, even for a limited time. Few persons will approve of the choice, of a *Foreman* or *Chancellor* being either left to chance, or placed in other hands, than his brother jurors, for the most obvious reasons, and some will undoubtedly conceive, that our Jurymen in general, are as competent to decide on the *law* and the *fact*, under the guidance, when necessary, of the Judge, as their English or Irish brethren.

On the above heads, one may well suppose, that the friends of the bill were prepared to meet with and conciliate opposition, though they could hardly anticipate the blind resistance which is now making to the self-evident principle, that life, property, and reputation, are infinitely safer in the unanimous verdict of twelve upright equals, than they ever can be when left to the discretion of one wavering, perhaps foolish man, either in the exalted post of a Judge, or in the more humble, but not less important station of a Jurymen. One good effect, among many more, would naturally flow from *unanimity* of verdicts, viz. They would not be so liable, as they often have been, to the severe animadversions of the bench, when delivered on the side of mercy, though in conformity with the purest dictates of conscience, in the discharge of a most sacred duty, commonly imposed upon one subject in the temporary defence of another, while the office of a Judge is one of great emolument and estimation through life, among its fortunate holders and numerous competitors. It is worthy of a passing remark, that the instances are rare indeed,

where a Jury is reprimanded for the severity of their decision, though the reverse often happens for its lenity, and this naturally leads one to imagine that some innate feeling of jealousy here, has originally pointed out the *unanimity* of Juries to be as essential for the protection of life or property, exposed to power, as the exclusion of particular professions from the list of Jurors in capital trials. Every body conversant with the laws and usages of England and Scotland, even in a superficial degree, will grant that both have their excellencies and defects, though on the whole, the liberty of the subject is better understood, and more vigilantly protected in one kingdom than the other, and in no matter so conspicuously as in that of Juries alone.

The duties of a Coroner and his Jury, are as salutary for the detection of guilt, as those of a Grand Jury are for the protection of innocence, over the whole empire, this northern part of it excepted; where I am led to believe we have no such judicious institutions, or any substitutes for them, which are equally inoffensive to the Crown and people. It is admitted on all hands, that a proper plan should be devised for rendering *Juries* as useful as possible, by excluding from them both *extreme ignorance* and *poverty*; a result which would hardly fail, were a regular list published of all those deemed qualified for that responsible office by education, rank, or property in the several shires, towns, and districts. From such rolls in alphabetical order, Jurymen could easily be selected individually every time, under each letter in regular rotation, till the whole had served once in that capacity, and their successive nominations might depend on a Committee and Preses of their own body, receiving an order from the Sheriff to that effect. This regulation would prevent both the *packing* of Juries, and that partial selection which may often load qualified Jurors with more than their due share of this indispensable duty to their fellow subjects, while a just mixture would in general be preserved, by taking one name only from every letter, as already stated. To a jury thus constituted, I can hardly conceive any fact, which is to affect life or property, can well be

more dubious than the simplest process in digital numeration, and which can prove to the dullest comprehension, how and why *two fours* make *eight*, and two units constitute only a fourth part of the foregoing number. Till defect of title to property, or forfeit of life, become equally evident to twelve reasonable men, as the proposed numerical operation, every man in danger of losing either, must feel an invincible repugnance to any verdict against him, which has not the comparatively infallible sanction of *unanimity*, whatever sentiments the presiding Judge or a legal adversary may form of a different decision. In such cases, were appeals even granted, how seldom could they succeed, whatever might be the fate of a new trial upon equitable grounds.

Having already once changed my opinion on this momentous subject, I am far from shutting my eyes against the light of future conviction, and shall with great deference, correct any errors which I have committed, *currente calamo*, when these are pointed out by superior genius and judgment, tempered with that candour and spirit of conciliation which the present theme so justly merits from every Briton. The charm of one casting vote in Scotland, has, I suspect, so long bewitched us with its simple beauties, that we cannot easily comprehend any such attraction in the *unanimity* of Juries as our neighbours so fervently admire; but may not this at best be a national delusion in favour of a mere majority, which time, practice, and patient investigation may yet enable us to cure. In popular language it is universally admitted that the sun *rises* and *sets*, though every person of ordinary talents and education must allow, that this apparent *truth* is at best but a *vulgar error*, which astronomy has long since discarded, in spite of national tongues, and in defiance of the exploded notions of our ancestors respecting that glorious luminary and its diurnal career. Permit me to place for a moment the common notions of paramount *unity* in Scotland, in contrast with the irresistible power of English *unanimity*, that the sun's supposed daily journey may typify the former, while the latter shall represent

the naked truth, unveiled by the hand of sound philosophy in the enlightened regions of science, liberty and law.

Having observed a selection of English cases and reports in some of the papers, which tend in the opinion of those who are hostile to the Jury Bill, to invalidate the excellence of unanimity of verdict, it may be proper to remark, that were equal diligence exerted, to expose the evils of a bare majority in our Scottish practise, there is at least a probability, that the instances of difficulty, and what is infinitely worse, of *downright injustice*, would greatly preponderate in favour of the English, and against the Scottish system of Juries; but nobody being so deeply interested in the defeat of *Civil Jury Trials* in Scotland, as the majority of Lawyers in this city, we can hardly expect the same persevering research in the abuses of a casting vote, as hath been evinced in the detraction of unanimous verdicts. There is nevertheless much reason to hope, that by keeping the subject alive as long as possible, ample justice may still be granted to the arguments on both sides of the question, from the collision of sentiment which generally is productive of more good than detriment to society at large, whatever its effects may be on the sordid, prejudiced, or uninformed casuists, who assault or defend the unanimity of juries. A verdict, thus given, is not the pertinacious singularity of belief or opinion in one breast only, but rather the concentrated essence of the whole twelve, founded on evidence alone, fully weighed and discussed in all its bearings on the fact, by English or Scottish Juries, with a deliberate review of its intrinsic worth; whence, I conceive, a Juryman may sometimes be forced to pronounce a man innocent, by a failure of proof, though in his own mind, the prisoner may appear to him really guilty.

Though conscious of the discouraging prolixity of the present epistle, I feel an irresistible temptation to intrude with one paragraph more on the reader's patience, because it conveys a case something parallel to the matter in dispute. In our constitutional trinity of estates, the expediency of simple majorities is wisely recognised, and acted upon by each individually, but when an act is to be

passed affecting the interest or well-being of the whole empire, it can only become a law by the unanimous consent or verdict of the distinct members of the body politic, which thus crowns by its *unanimity* the act that in its progress was regulated by majorities alone.

My own hard case detailed in pages 39, &c. is no lame illustration of my doctrines on the judicatory blessings, for which Scotland is indebted to her ancient friends and allies the *Bourbons* of France, who certainly possess that hereditary legitimate love to their liege subjects, which has been so ardent in all ages, as to burn, massacre, and destroy some few millions of French Protestants, who it seems are not yet much more attached to the Capital Justice of those absolute monarchs, than I am, who feel a natural antipathy to every dish of Gallic origin, not excepting their culinary *Omelet* of jurisprudence, presented on a Scottish frying pan, whence a freeman like me is so apt to tumble from that ordeal, into the burning fire of legal vengeance and fury for ever, though not yet quite in the purified centre of rectilinear Paris, or the flagrant Madrid.

A brother Radical has furnished me with a narrative of his torture on the grand wheels of Law and Justice, in our glorious free country, which can be authenticated by thousands of witnesses. His story runs thus—Some few years ago, Major Cartwright, in a letter to Z, sent his compliments to Y, which accidentally fell into the hands of sheriff X, who, with a brother officer W, and a *posse comitatatus*, siezed Z's desk, books, papers, &c. carrying him off to prison for examination, where he was detained from 10 A. M. to 10 at night, but nothing more heinous was found out against him, than being a respectable American merchant, and a friendly correspondent of the venerable apostle of Reform on Constitutional principles. It also happened, unfortunately, that Major C. had presented his compliments, in the intercepted letter, to another innocent Reformer V. He was likewise apprehended, and subjected to a similar legal process with Z, for six hours, when the result of the scrutiny being equally fruitless, he was permitted to rejoin his

wife and family, wantonly exposed during that interval, to the most excruciating suspense and alarm. In the absence of *Y* from his home, it was visited by *X*, and his myrmidons at mid-day, who fairly took possession of the premises, and sent to drag *Y*, from the bosom of his wife, and a large party of most respectable friends, who that day were all dining in the country with *U*, a Gentleman of the best character in Glasgow. *Y* was forthwith lodged in the common jail, till *X*, and his worthy coadjutors, were at leisure to commence their official inquisition about his correspondence with Major Cartwright, and another Gentleman, who is an honour to his country. *Y* frankly acknowledged being their correspondent occasionally, and he was instantly marched by *X*, and his understrappers, as a State prisoner in the streets of Glasgow, to his own dwelling, at some distance, exposed of course, to the pity or contempt of his fellow citizens, as they might conceive him innocent or guilty. *Y* was peremptorily ordered to deliver up all his political writings, which he as boldly refused, by way of atonement to his own irritable and wounded feelings, for the needless alarm to which both his lady, then pregnant, and a sister dangerously ill, and confined to bed, had been exposed by their brutal and unmanly procedure. *X* began to bully, bluster, threaten, but *Y* put all this bravado at complete defiance, leaving the Inquisitor to find what he came in search of, either by the second-sight, or the devil's assistance, as he might deem best. By way of revenge for this manly behaviour, *X* proceeded to rumage, disperse, and explore all *Y*'s business papers, books, vouchers, documents, &c. connected with mercantile transactions, for many hundred thousand pounds, and posted him back to jail for further examination as a suspected traitor to his king and country. By ten o'clock at night, finding their hellish machinations, and unreasonable blood-thirsty suspicions all baffled and groundless, these very delicate and unworthy limbs of the law, most graciously allowed *Y* to retrace his steps to the arms of an agonized wife, and distracted relatives. *Y* has been repeatedly advised to submit his cruel case to Parliament, but has hitherto been deterred

by the hopeless prospect from such a quarter; and since the Corn Bill has been passed into a law, *vi et armis*, against the people, he wholly despairs, and many thousands besides, of the smallest redress, in future, for either public or private wrongs.

I have authority for adding, that the above is only one instance of several persecutions, some of them still more grievous to Y, and even more dishonourable to the high legal parties concerned, which would be submitted to the cognizance of an indignant public, were such a lash either profitable or pleasant, while we remain in Rotten Borough thralldom, and consequently daily exposed to the most infernal oppression.

It is little short of thirty years since the great and immortal Lord Melville, the bosom friend of the heaven-born Reformer, William Pitt, took up the cudgels in favour of those injured burgesses and freemen, in the venal corporations of Scotland, who then had too much reason to complain of their oppressive and tyrannical Magistracy, in almost every Royal Borough in the kingdom. The patriotic and disinterested labours of his Lordship, at that period, have been the blessed means of throwing into my hands, some volumes of municipal truths, which shall appear in successive numbers of the *Aurora Borealis*, as a luminous portion of those northern lights, or streamers, which, *Deo volente*, I shall exhibit in my Loyal Speculum, to the admiring eyes of all my countrymen, who cannot yet be so well enlightened on that dark subject, as I have lately become. In fact, the longer this phosphoric sink of corruption and venality is contemplated, the more irresistible becomes the conviction, that Radical Reform alone can rid the land of so infectious a plague, which too often affects the very physicians deputed to eradicate it, that they even, sooner or later, fall a prey to its pestilential exhalations. Happily for the existing race of patients, either yet affected with, or exposed to infection by this civic cancer, many serious people have already taken the alarm, and are now so sick of the palliatives, which have been applied since the State Doctor

Dundas first probed the subject to the quick, as to be all alive in quest of the radical cure, in more than one of the Royal Boroughs.

Indeed, some of the first complainers in this way, have been so effectually redressed, that it is now generally believed there will hardly remain one solitary Corporation in the country, whose rotten constitutions will not be radically renovated by the antiseptic pills now prescribing by my worthy associate, Dr. Cartwright, and myself, his indefatigable mate, for this portion of the political Lazaretto, on the North side of the Tweed; and should our united labours prove effectual, it is probable that a humble application will be made to the Crown, for a slight change in the vulgar and plebeian name of *Cart-wright*, to the more dignified appellation of Constitution—or *State-wright*, with a coat of arms suitably blazoned, on so grand an occasion, with the appropriate motto, *Mea gloria Lex. Mea parens Grex. Utrumque gloria Rex.* Besides the emblematical device of the sun rising from thick clouds, with a scroll on his forehead, "I hope to speed." The whole escutcheon to be surmounted with the Pleiades in the *Bull's* neck, as typical of a Septennial Parliament, setting like Sol in the west, under the character of Apollo, pointing to this significant verse,

"*Luceo discedens aucto splendore resurgam.*"

This display of personal vanity should at least shield us from the reproach of sheer democracy, and prove that Radicals cannot, in reason or truth, be confounded with, or treated as *levellers*, whatever objections they may justly adduce against any unprincipled aristocracy of privileged orders, or the unlimited regality of a British King. After this little heraldic digression, we must look back to the self-elected Borough Corporations, their mode of appointing the Magistrates, management of their own funds, and those of the public *Charities and Hospitals* entrusted to their superintendence, by people who know them not so well as I do, now from vouchers of undoubted authenticity, to which I shall constantly refer, as we advance in this long postponed investigation. I must honestly con-

less, that much of the labour will be rather *uphill* work; but as we say in this country, "a stout heart to a stay bray," or "a faint heart never won a fair lady." If the task should prove as arduous in point of time, as the siege of Troy, nothing short of death shall make me relinquish an enterprise, when I fairly embark in it, which I have oftener than once evinced in my life already. The particulars which will naturally be first discussed in the Aurora, may be thus classified, and treated in regular succession, when time and space will admit of more than that of Inverness; which shall appear in this work, as a temporary illustration of the whole, that a loyal Reforming friend of mine in that neighbourhood, may perceive that *Radicals* are not unmindful of those pestilent ramifications, which must yield successively to the real Reform in Parliament, so long advocated by the venerable champion of that indispensable process, unless we mean quietly to sink in despair, under the fatal disease.

The specification of Corporation Abuses which cry aloud for Reform, may thus be stated.

- I. Self-Election of Magistrates.
- II. Want of Jurisdiction of Accounts.
- III. Alienation of Public Property.
- IV. Contraction of Debts.
- V. Arbitrary Power.
- VI. Illegal Exactions in name of Cess, &c.
- VII. Jobbing the Public Works, and other Misapplications of the Revenues.
- VIII. Lodging of Soldiers, and proportioning Stent.
- IX. Imposition of Taxes without the authority of Parliament.
- X. Refusing access to the Records or Council Books of the Boroughs.
- XI. Comparative View of the Friends and Enemies of Municipal Reform.
- XII. Miscellaneous Reports.

Relative to No. X. the following printed document is once more submitted to public inspection.—It alone will speak volumes.

INVERNESS.

“ On the 26th December, 1788, Baillie William Scott, merchant, as procurator for the whole Burgesses and Inhabitants, who had petitioned the House of Commons for Reform, in the personal presence of Phineas Mackintosh, Provost of the Borough, Represented, That upon the 17th day of December, current, Alexander Macdonald, writer in Inverness, one of the petitioners, and as agent for the other petitioners, delivered to the said Phineas Mackintosh, present Provost of the said Borough, a letter of which the tenor follows:—“ To the Honourable the Provost and Magistrates of Inverness, 15th December, 1788. We the Committee of the Burgesses of this Borough, who have petitioned the Honourable the House of Commons, for a Reform in the internal government of the Boroughs of Scotland, beg leave to request of you, that three of our number may have access to the Council-records of this Borough, and be permitted to inspect the same, that we may be enabled therefrom, to give every information in our power to Parliament. Our petition to the Honourable House of Commons, was subscribed by every Burgess and Heritor of this Borough out of Council, eleven or twelve excepted, and some of these last, who may be termed neutrals, highly commended the application; and of the Town-council at that time, ten Members did subscribe the petition, viz. *William Scott*, merchant, *Alexander Murray*, merchant, *James Reid*, merchant, *Robert Rose*, merchant, *Charles Cumming*, merchant, *Daniel Cameron*, merchant, *Simon Fraser*, baker, *John Grant*, Deacon Convener of the six Incorporated Trades, *John Baillie*, deacon of the wrights, and *Alexander Fraser*, deacon of the weavers.—If you incline that a scrutiny of the names subscribing our petition may be made, we require, that two or more of our number, may be called upon to be present, whom we shall ap-

' point at any time you think proper. You cannot but admit,
 ' that the Burgesses of this Borough never were permitted, nor
 ' had they access at any time to see the accounts of the Borough.
 ' —No, not even the greatest part of the Town council, are even
 ' permitted to know any thing about the accounts or Town affairs,
 ' as many of us Burgesses, who have been of the Town council,
 ' can testify. You also admit, that the Guild-brethren, when
 ' charged to meet to pay their quarterly dues, are never made ac-
 ' quainted with the state of the affairs of their Incorporation, but
 ' when they pay down their money, are expected to walk off.
 ' They are not consulted in the disposal of the money thus paid out
 ' of their pockets, nor have a voice in the appointment of the per-
 ' sons who give it away, and manage their affairs: and you know,
 ' that great sums of this money have been lost by bankruptcies,
 ' and expended in law-suits, without their consent. Eighteen
 ' members of the Guildry are, by the present set, members of the
 ' Town council. They are not elected by the Incorporation of
 ' Guild-brethren, but by the old Council, who only change two or
 ' three annually. That very large alienations of the Town's pro-
 ' perty have been made, will appear from the feu-book, and which
 ' we require also to be permitted to inspect: That the amount of
 ' the Town debts are very considerable, you well know; but in or-
 ' der that the same may be distinctly ascertained, we beg that you
 ' would furnish us with an account thereof as we are ignorant of
 ' them, being never consulted about them, although we are made
 ' to understand, that, by law, we are equally liable with you for
 ' the Town's debts. We cannot conclude, without mentioning the
 ' contemptuous manner in which you have hitherto affected to treat
 ' every application or petition of the Burgesses, although you must
 ' admit, that many of them are possessed of more property in the
 ' Borough, than any of the Town council; for you will find, that
 ' a very small share of the cess of the Borough is paid by the Mem-
 ' bers of Council, or a few others averse to Reform; for the au-
 ' thenticity of which, we appeal to the stent-books of the Borough.

' We request your answer to this letter, on or before the 22d curt.
 ' otherwise, we will presume that you decline the scrutiny, and ad-
 ' mit the other facts stated in this letter to be true. We are re-
 ' spectfully, Gentlemen, your most obedient servants. (Signed,)
 ' *William Scott, Preses, &c.*;' ' which letter, was directed on the
 ' back thus: "To Phineas Mackintosh, Esq. Provost of In-
 ' verness." ' After reading of which letter, the said Baillie Wil-
 ' liam Scott, for himself, and as procurator and attorney, foresaid,
 ' represented, That upon the day above mentioned, the said Alex-
 ' ander Macdonald delivered to the said Phineas Mackintosh the
 ' letter, of which, what is above engrossed, is a copy, requiring
 ' him to return a written answer thereto, which none of the sub-
 ' sscribers of the same had hitherto received; and the said Phineas
 ' Mackintosh having acknowledged the receipt of the said letter,
 ' and admitted, that no written answer was returned thereto;
 ' therefore the said Baillie William Scott, for himself, and as
 ' procurator and attorney, foresaid, protested, That the silence of
 ' the said Phineas Mackintosh, and the other Members of the pre-
 ' sent Council, is, and shall be considered and admitted, to all in-
 ' tents and purposes, as a direct and explicit admission on their
 ' part, of the truth of the whole grievances therein mentioned; and
 ' that the said petitioners shall be at liberty to found upon the said
 ' silence, as a refusal on their part, to comply with the requisition
 ' therein made, in order to preclude the said petitioners from giving
 ' the necessary information to Parliament; and as an admission on
 ' the part of the Magistrates and Town-council of Inverness, that
 ' the whole grounds of complaint stated in their petition to Parlia-
 ' ment, and, in the above letter, are just, true, and well-founded
 ' grievances and complaints: And thereupon protested, and took
 ' instruments,' &c.

No. I. will be illustrated by the annexed statement.—"The
 Town council of this Borough, is composed of twenty-one mem-
 bers, whereof they only change five annually, and these are brought

in the succeeding year, if their conduct on former occasions merited the approbation of the party in power; and if that is not the case, any person acting contrary to the ideas of the leading Magistrate and his party *is turned off the Council, never more to be on the list.* And thus it happens that the Magistrates of Inverness continue to elect their successors, and must do so for ever, if an alteration of the present system is not obtained.

“ The manner of electing the Town Council, is most absurd and ridiculous. On the Saturday previous to the election, *the Provost, four Bailies*, Dean of Guild and Treasurer, meet and determine unanimously, for the persons to be brought in, and to be turned off the Council. The same persons meet on the Monday thereafter, when they agree in the same manner, as to the persons to be chosen Magistrates the next day. The Dean of Guild is elected by the Town Council, and he names his own Council, though there is no authority for this practice, by the act of the Borough; and by these means, the Members of the Guildry Corporation, have no vote in the appointment of the persons who dispose of their funds at pleasure; nor are they ever called upon, but to pay their quarter dues. In this state, *the Magistracy of this place is an hereditary matter, transmitted by one man, in favour of his nearest connection, or adopted friend.*”

No. III. will be illustrated by the following extract:—“ The revenues of this Borough dilapidated away within the last century, by the different leading Magistrates, in favours of themselves, and their adherents, for trifling feu-duties, not exceeding £20 per annum, now yield above £3600 sterling. The revenue of the Town is at present £500 sterling a-year, or thereby; a great part of which is expended on entertainments and pensions, to the friends and adherents of the leaders.

No. XI. will be sufficiently illustrated by the following extract:—“ There was transmitted to this Committee, (the General Committee) by the friends of Reform in one of the Boroughs, the following circular Letter, which had been written by

John Grieve, Esq. Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and Preses of the Town Councils, to the Magistrates of the different Boroughs, on the subject of the Bill for Reform depending in Parliament.

“ Letter from John Grieve, Esq. Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Preses of the Annual Committee of Convention of Town Councils, to the Magistrates of the several Royal Boroughs.

“ ‘ Gentlemen—The persons engaged to obtain what they term
 ‘ a Reform in the Internal Government of the Royal Boroughs of
 ‘ Scotland, having, in consequence of various Petitions, obtained
 ‘ leave to bring forward their Bill on that head, for the future con-
 ‘ sideration of Parliament, and which was not objected to, but a-
 ‘ greed to be acquiesced in on the part of the Royal Boroughs,
 ‘ solely with a view to shorten that contest: A copy of which Bill
 ‘ having been laid before the General Convention of the Roy-
 ‘ al Boroughs, they have directed me, their Preses, to transmit
 ‘ to you the inclosed copy thereof, in which you will observe,
 ‘ that the blanks in that Bill have only been filled up in Italics, entire-
 ‘ ly agreeable to the former copy thereof, as published by these Re-
 ‘ formers, in order more fully to shew, that their plan is really totally
 ‘ subversive of the ancient Constitutions of the Royal Boroughs.
 ‘ They, therefore, desire you will take that Bill immediately under
 ‘ consideration, together with the printed case in behalf of the Roy-
 ‘ al Boroughs, and others therewith sent, and transmit, without delay,
 ‘ either to me, or to Mr. Johu Blair, the agent here for the Royal
 ‘ Boroughs, such remarks as may occur to you in regard thereto, so
 ‘ as the Annual Committee may be fully prepared, before the meet-
 ‘ ing of the ensuing Session of Parliament, to oppose its being passed
 ‘ into a law. At the same time, I have to observe, that, as the
 ‘ House of Commons have ordered notorial copies of the Charters
 ‘ and Sets of the Royal Boroughs of Scotland, to be laid before them,
 ‘ you will take care to pay attention thereto, and transmit these also
 ‘ to Mr Blair in due time. You will also particularly inform him,
 ‘ what ^s the particular practice of settling the accounts of your Trea-

‘ surer or Chamberlain, that is to say, whether these be cleared annually; and after being audited, whether, in terms of the order of Convention, they do lie open for the space of eight days, in your Council-chamber, or usual place of meeting of Council, for the inspection of such of the Burgesses as may incline to examine the same.

‘ By their directions, I also here inclose a list of the names of subscribers to the petition presented to Parliament in name of several inhabitants said to belong to your Borough. This, the Convention desire, you will immediately scrutinize, and return either the list itself to Mr. Blair, or an exact copy thereof, marking the character or description of each person contained in that list, in so far as connected with your Borough; that is, whether they are actual burgesses, or only honourary ones; whether they be resident or not: and if not, where they do reside, their respective trades and occupations in the Borough, and particularly whether they are members of any incorporation of trades, heritors of houses or lands within the same, or what proportion in number these subscribers bear to the other burgesses, heritors, and inhabitants thereof; or what share of the public burdens these do contribute, in proportion to that paid by the other inhabitants.

‘ You have also inclosed a copy of the particular charge stated by the Reformers against your Borough in regard to the management of the funds thereof; as to which you will also furnish Mr. Blair with your particular answers.

‘ To these objects I doubt not you will pay particular attention, and punctually comply therewith as early as possible, for the welfare of the state of Boroughs. And with all due respect, I am,

‘ Gentlemen,

‘ Your most obedient, and most humble Servant,

(Signed)

‘ JOHN GRIEVE, Preses.

‘ Edinburgh, September, 9th, 1788.’

" It appeared from this Letter, that in opposing the Bill for Reform, the Town Councils proposed to make a scrutiny as to the persons who had signed the different petitions presented in favour of Reform; and to describe whether they were burgesses, heritors, inhabitants, members of incorporations, or what other station they held in the respective boroughs, what proportion they bore in numbers to the other inhabitants, and what share was paid by them of the public burdens.

" This Committee, confident that in every Borough which has acceded to Reform, a great majority, both in numbers and extent of property, favoured Reform, had always wished for an investigation, or scrutiny, of the nature pointed out by Provost Grieve, provided it could be obtained upon fair and impartial principles.

" It occurred, therefore, that both parties being desirous of a scrutiny, there was the fairest opportunity of ascertaining the point in question, and of having the truth distinctly stated to Parliament, by appointing in each Borough, delegates from both parties to conduct the scrutiny, on just and equitable principles, a mode which they conceived the Town Councils could not possibly decline, if truth only was the object of their inquiries.

" The Committee of Convention accordingly, on the 17th November 1781, wrote to the Burgesses a letter, which, so far as concerns this subject, was in the following terms:—

" ' There has been lately transmitted to us from Anstruther, a copy of a Circular Letter, sent by John Grieve, Esq. Preses of the Annual Committee of Convention of Town Councils, to the Magistrates of the different Boroughs. We deem it extremely material, that the contents of this letter should be known to all the burgesses interested in Reform, and therefore we have printed and annexed the same to our present communication. It discovers in the Magistracy a high degree of minute attention and industry in their opposition to Reform. Such conduct, on their part, must convince you of the necessity of the utmost vigilance and exertion. To the scrutiny of names proposed to be made by the

‘ Town Councils, we, in our General Instructions, of 21st July, called your early attention. The propriety of what we there recommended, in order to defeat the objects of the Town Councils, has since been made more indisputably evident by Mr. Grieve’s Circular Letter, to which we here allude.

“ ‘ We cannot allow ourselves to believe, that the Magistracy can wilfully make an unfair report of the scrutiny. Mistakes may occur from inattention, or imperfect information; but from whatever cause it has happened, we are well informed, that in some Boroughs, the Magistrates have made reports of the scrutiny grossly erroneous, which, unless refuted, will no doubt be employed to mislead the determination of the Legislature.

“ ‘ In order, therefore, to prevent all mistakes in the scrutiny, we think, that the Committees of Reform in the different Boroughs, should make immediate and direct application to the Magistrates and Council, to have the same made at the sight of persons mutually appointed. This surely is the most unexceptionable manner of executing the business, where there is no object in view but the discovery of truth; and therefore, if the Magistrates refuse to comply with so reasonable and just a proposition, the Burgesses ought to take protests on the refusal. Such protests will place the conduct of the Magistracy in its proper light, and ought by no means to be omitted, if they decline to make the scrutiny in the candid manner here proposed.’

“ The Magistrates so far as hitherto known, have uniformly refused to concur in the proposed scrutiny, as appears from the protests and reports that follow. These are offered only as examples of a fact which is known to be general throughout almost all the concurring Boroughs, namely, that a majority of the Burgesses, in respect of both numbers and property, are on the side of Reform. If this were not the case, the Magistracy would not so studiously avoid entering into a fair and impartial scrutiny, by means of persons mutually appointed by the two contending parties.”

XII. Will be illustrated by the following extract:—

“The inhabitants of this place (Inverness) have much reason to complain of the actions of their Town Clerk. A Gentleman connected with the persons in power, resident in Edinburgh, is appointed Town Clerk, who appoints a depute, and these Gentlemen have doubled their fees in every matter connected with their office, within these last *five* years (1789.) And it often happens, that neither they, nor any servant of theirs, can be found in Town to conduct any part of the business, so that the inhabitants pay for two clerks, when, in fact, they have none.”

The intelligent reader will perceive, at one glance, how this great question of municipal Reform and abuses depends upon, and is supported by the existing Rotten Borough system, against both of which cancerous or scrofulous evils, no royal touch in Christendom can be so complete a specific as Radical Reform in the House of Commons, upon constitutional principles. Here is the real old English *Panacea* for all the urban plagues and corporate miseries which have persecuted us for years, and can alone be fostered any longer by the arcana of Pandora's box, being perversely shut up, while the deleterious snuff which it contains, is liberally distributed in gold and silver toys, among those citizens, who swear as free masons, to keep the secret from the whole string of such *Novices*, as I have hitherto been, whatever may be the fate of the general mass of their fellow citizens. This reminds me of a toast once given by a waggish doctor at a faculty dinner. “May all those who are sick get well.” What! exclaimed the President, was there ever a sentiment given here so very mal—? Softly! the indignant son of Galen replied on this interruption,—“quite *apropos*, and may all those who are well get sick.” We need hardly add, that the laugh took a different turn, and made the old abashed Hippocrates assume that cast of countenance, *pro tempore*, which goes by his name among the whole college of physicians. Corporations have, in the body politic, the very same congenial feelings as those medical leeches now described, for they might, with equal honesty, declare

their municipal wish to plunder every fat goose, who grazes without the limits of their own privileged green, unless when they want to convert him into a decoy duck on some particular occasions. Having the whole ingenious process of such transformation detailed in authentic documents by me, my countrymen will soon become as great adepts in these occult sciences as myself, provided any, or all, of them associates into a *Fletcher Club*, on principles similar to the *Hampden Association* in London, and in honour of the celebrated *Scottish patriot* of that name, generally styled *Fletcher of Saltoun*. In some of my early papers in the *Aurora*, the rules and plan of such a society will be respectfully submitted to the community for revision, amendment, or alteration, before it can be finally adopted at the Caledonian capital, where we may reasonably hope for faithful aid from all or most of the Trade's incorporations, for the clearest reasons, unless they can be much better treated by the Merchant Company here, than their fellow-craftsmen have hitherto been in most, if not all of the Royal Boroughs. Being a species of discarded chapman myself, I shall have no objection to take shelter among the first hammermen who may choose to admit me as a member of their craft, with a political sledge mallet, or forehammer, that I have luckily laid my hands on in Glasgow. A few hard knocks on an anvil of tried metal will speedily effect that fundamental reform of the honey-combed piece of ordnance, which I consider every venal corporation to represent, which is commonly produced by recasting the whole body in a proper mould on mechanical and constitutional principles, and which alone can render it a mortar safe for friends to approach, destructive only to unnatural foes, who may desire rather the ruin than the salvation of their native country. The particular vouchers which are coming forwards, relative to public institutions and charitable foundations in Scotland, will present a strange picture for the contemplation of the devout Christians in this favoured land, who have permitted such violations of common honesty to pass unexposed and unredressed for many revolving years, though they must know, that the robber of the widow, the

orphan, and the poor, is one of those miscreants, against whom the most dreadful denunciations are to be found in every page of Scripture, and much more worthy of the gallows, than most of the unhappy wretches, whose existence and career is terminated so conspicuously, *pro bono publico*, while wholesale thieves are allowed to escape with impunity in person, purse, or even character. Nay, it has more than once happened, that the plunderers of the public charities, and oppressors of the poor man have attended far less criminal pannels, in their official capacity, to witness the last awful process of law, which, had justice been done, would have long before prevented all such magisterial attendance, either on the scaffold, or at the usual public dinners, which, horrible to relate, invariably follow such executions, and which, it is said, the clergy also often grace with their divine presence.

When the terror of invasion haunted every British head, and alarmed the stoutest heart, by the menaces of the triumphant Napoleon, of by-past years, there might have been some plausible pretence for deferring both radical and ramical Reform, but as that prostrate devil, or dog of his day, has lost both his fiery tail and fearful teeth, we may now sit quietly down, and ferret out, if we can, all the sly foxes who have been feathering their nests, while the demons of war, desolation, and bloodshed, have been tearing the vital members of Europe to pieces, at the expence of the spirit, life, and sinews, of the whole empire, though, in some respects, no doubt in the very acme of its renowned career of martial fame. Now, or never, is the period for the upright sons of their country to step forwards, and strangle corruption, before it collects force enough by its diabolical mutes, to whip the bow-string round the neck of every genuine loyalist in the kingdom, and put renovation down with a vengeance, for ever, by some new belligerent manœuvre, to entangle the nation for the next thirty years to come; as it is now tolerably obvious, that a similar motive has been operating during the same space which has just elapsed, and exactly in the manner predicted in this place. If taxes have really arrived at their *ne plus ultra* already, it is not the menaced assessment on Scottish shops, warehouses,

etc. that can cherish the demon of contest much longer; no, it will require, for so daring a purpose, all we have yet left which we can still call our own, and then the support and countenance which radical Reform must receive from some quarter or other, will, of course, arrive too late to be of the smallest service to the existing Government, whatever its salutary effects may be on the great mass of the people, or on the welfare and prosperity of their future state.

At an early period of life I returned from the West Indies, after a residence of three years, and having finished a limited course of Medical studies at Edinburgh, fortune landed me on the shores of India. Soon after my arrival, I was exposed as a solitary Medical man, who knew not a word of the native languages of that country, to the charge of a large detachment, which had an action with the Mahratta army, and sustained some loss in killed and wounded on the spot. The distress which I and my patients, of course, suffered, from a complete inability to understand each other's communications, sunk deep into my mind, and impelled me immediately to study the Hindoostanee tongue, as the general speech of all the British Indian territories, inhabited by perhaps fifty millions of Asiatic subjects. The Company's Civil and Military servants assured me, that the common language, then foolishly called *Moors*, was a jargon, without rules or grammar of any kind, and that many much more clever fellows than myself, had vainly attempted to make any progress in such studies. This rather inflamed than damped my ardour; I insisted that millions of men could not possibly converse without certain laws and limitations, in their vernacular tongue, and staked my credit as a scholar, that I not only would acquire the Hindoostanee, but demonstrate its actual possession of a grammar. My resolution and perseverance were stigmatized as folly, madness, vanity and arrogance, till, with the labour of fifteen years, and the expenditure of ten thousand pounds, I completed a large Grammar and Dictionary of the popular tongue, and many other

books, which, to this day, are esteemed by the natives, and my own countrymen, as standard works, made little short of the *ne plus ultra* of philological perfection, by one resolute effort of a determined spirit, which no obstacles could overcome. This invincible ardour can be here best illustrated, by one of my friend, Major Cartwright's many instructive anecdotes, which may yet do good to some of my juvenile countrymen, who have to fight their way unaided, almost from the cradle to the grave, as I have done. On the West India station, a fine young midshipman, the favourite of the officers of the ship in general, had some how or other offended his tyrannical captain. The ingenuous youth was put in irons, and kept a close prisoner in that destructive climate for some time. The first lieutenant with a sorrowful countenance, went one morning to Charles, for that was the stripling's name, and said, My dear boy, the captain has sworn a terrible oath that you shall die in these very chains. Did he, by G—? retorted the gallant tar, while the flash of indignation gleamed on his fine blue eyes; had he not told you his infernal purpose, I might, to be sure, have soon gone to Davie Jones' locker, from a prison like this; but now, I am determined to live, in spite of the despot's teeth. He did survive the captivity, and in a few succeeding years, became one of our first rate naval heroes, while his oppressor, not long after this act of tyranny, played the coward in a sea-fight, and sunk ignominiously into a dishonourable grave. May such be the invariable fortune of every noble soul, similarly contrasted, with a base vile spirit, for the truly brave never can be deliberately cruel or unjust!

In process of time, my philological progress in Oriental literature pointed me out to Marquis Wellesley, as the experimental Atlas of his intended Calcutta College. I stood the test with eclat; the establishment was founded, and I became a Professor, with a liberal salary, which alone, after a variety of reverses, enabled me to revisit my native shore, with a very moderate competency. To that accomplished Nobleman, I owe my preservation from a Jail, then ready to receive me as a poor author, over head and ears in debt,

by his literary exertions, to serve his Honourable Masters, during a lexicographical slavery of fifteen long years. Whatever opinion I may have of the Noble Marquis' politics as a Statesman, my heart never shall forget its obligations to him, as the only efficient patron I had the good fortune to meet with in Bengal; nor will it soon be insensible to the greatest favour he ever conferred upon me, by declaring, in a full assembly of my colleagues, in the College, that as he was sure of learning the naked truth about the progress of the Hindoostanee class from its Professor, he heartily rejoiced to find my report, on that particular occasion, so very favourable.

Having, before my departure from Calcutta, undertaken an elaborate College Theme, for disputation, at the annual examination, in which I triumphantly contrasted the moral, and other excellencies of the Christian dispensation, with all those of the East. I brought on a serious affection of my head, which encreased to a dangerous vertigo, that hurried me home, when I found that the subject on which so much pains had been bestowed, was suppressed, through the machinations of some artful *Moosulmans*, then high in favour with some persons about the Court, though similar points had previously been mooted with applause, which affected the Hindoos alone. The chagrin of mind, and real shock that my health sustained on this trying occasion, certainly drove me home some years sooner than I intended, and consequently so much the poorer in purse, as well as in constitution. I brought letters of high recommendation to the Ministry, and Court of Directors, as a meritorious servant of the Company, from my patron the Marquis of Wellesley. They produced from my Lord Castlereagh, a very hospitable dinner; from Lord Sidmouth's Secretary, three lines acknowledging the receipt of my communication; and from the immortal William Pitt, the most profound silence. With the Court of Directors, I some how or other fell under a suspicion of having returned home as an agent of the Governor General's, with hostile intentions against the College at Hertford, as if either Marquis Wellesley would have acted a part so unbecoming his exalted station, or that I even would have stoop-

ed low enough for so degrading an errand. This doubt having been cleared up, I believe, to the Court's satisfaction, they gave me a temporary charge of the Hindoostanee class, at their new College, but there the overbearing temper of a divine Principal, and the undermining intrigues of an ecclesiastical colleague, made me so sick of the situation, that I was fain to leave it, after a trial of two months, especially, when I found my Oriental predecessor was jostled out of his appointment by the very person for whom he was mainly instrumental in procuring the best birth in the College. A generous breast may, in this place, naturally ask in what way I have been remunerated for literary toils in India, of the most Herculean kind, and I shall candidly tell him, that my Surgeon's pension only has been continued with a grudge, and will probably be taken entirely away, when the Honourable Court learn, that a pensioner of their's has dared to become a Radical Reformer. If so, they are most welcome, for I never felt the smallest ambition of being what Johnson prematurely termed, *a hired slave of State*; nor am I one of those cunning Jews who would either buy or sell a birth-right for a mess of pottage.

My contemporaries who studied the languages of the priests and the courtiers of the East, have been raised in rank, wealth and honour, far above the plain man, whose labours were directed to a general knowledge and cultivation of the popular tongue, that my countrymen might thence be enabled, immediately on their arrival, to be useful to their employers, comfortable in themselves, just and learned as Magistrates, among the natives, in proportion to the necessity of such graduated proficiency, connected with their various duties and pursuits in life, on this self-evident principle, that any foreigner, who, in England, shall first learn our vernacular speech accurately, on grammatical principles, can never afterwards be at the least loss to make whatever progress he chooses, in any language, art, or science, which could, in any way, be requisite for his own, or his connections' welfare and prosperity. Had the British Indian Governments, many years ago, acted on the hints and advice submit-

ted by me, from time to time, to them, on the foregoing broad principle, the East India Company would have been at this day some hundred thousand pounds richer than they are at present, though I must confess, they could not have evinced so much zeal for the glory of God, if that really consists in giving his holy priests the fat things of the earth, while a popular speech lay-man, like me, can hardly get a marrow bone, to pick, without a snarl and a grudge from pious men. If I meet with due encouragement, I shall engage, in a very short time, to submit a plan to the Court of Directors, which shall be attended with more beneficial consequences on their Civil and Military servants, with respect to both occidental and oriental education, than their present expensive and preposterous system, and at, perhaps, one-fourth, or one-sixth of the cost; but as I said before, there will be no meretricious trappings, either at the head or foot of my simple method, as the whole will be plain sailing on the wide sea of truth, reason, justice, and sterling merit, impelled by that divine spirit, called honest emulation.

In short, the scheme would rather prove a game at chess than backgammon, hazard or cards, and, of course, the chances for blockheads, or chips, of the same stamp, would be slender indeed, unless the fire from my elliptical, hieroglyphic tinder-box should prove potent enough (and this is not impossible) to kindle an intellectual flame, even in a mason's mallet, or a footstool. The letters which I brought from Marquis Wellesley to the Court of Directors, made me expect, at least, a remunerative pension for unexampled diligence and proficiency as an Oriental scholar, but so far have my expectations been deceived, that by some *hocus pocus* trick, my medical pension, to which, in equity and justice I have every right, has been converted into a boon, revocable at pleasure, perhaps, with a prospective view to my kicking against the pricks, as I am now doing. Be it so: I shall never repine at the enjoyment of freedom for so paltry a sacrifice, though, God knows, many a devout saint would think himself a poor sinner, were his pockets as thinly lined as mine. I certainly once made an appeal on the subject of my

claims, and comparative *res angusta domi*, to the conscience of a person, who I conceived to be a second Aristides, but, to this day, there has been no return from the Court, and I am, consequently, neither better nor worse off than my pecuniary state was prior to this application.

With respect to my own individual interest, even my enemies at the India House will admit, that I have never been importunate, though they certainly heard from me, as a small inducement to the generous present of Five Hundred Guineas, which was some years ago made to my literary friend and assistant, Capt. Roebuck, now a distinguished Oriental scholar at the college of Calcutta. One reason, perhaps, exists for my medical pension being held by the feeble tenure of *bene placito*, contrary to all others of the same sort; viz. I, a poor surgeon and pensioner in the Company's service, had the audacity to tell a great Director, (in the presence of my deceased friend, Col. Lamington Baillie, on his observing that I was talking nonsense) that I would not permit him or any man to tell me to my face that I was a fool, whatever he might choose to say behind my back, when I could neither make a physical nor mental defence in my own behalf. Should this surmise be true, I do not envy the gentleman in question, for either his triumph or magnanimity, as, if unavoidable, I shall throw so insignificant and degrading a bounty from my hands, with as much complacency and indifference, as the African lion can shake the dew drops of heaven from his shaggy mane, when he rises refreshed in the morning to hunt after his daily prey.

Both abroad and at home, I have on every occasion, done all in my limited power to oblige and assist my juvenile countrymen in the successful prosecution of their Oriental or foreign pursuits, nor was my door, in the distant regions of Asia, ever shut against a Caledonian, who brought the smallest claims on my hospitality, for all which, I have been amply repaid by the consciousness of having done no more than the duty of a good citizen, even while under persecution in my native place. The crime of a fruitless and vain

notoriety has industriously been stuck on my shoulders, wherever there was the smallest plea for such a malignant handbill, and, in no instance, was it more conspicuous, than on my claiming, as heir general, the Borthwick peerage, before I knew for certain, that it was limited to heirs male, or that other families had a better title than my own. To those respectable relatives, on both sides of the question, I can here proudly refer for my candid and impartial behaviour from first to last of that contested and still depending point. I not only offered every aid in my power to soothe both parties, but stood forwards as a volunteer peacemaker of a breach which juvenile indiscretion had effected on one hand, and wounded pride, rather encreased, than closed on the other, in spite of all my persevering efforts to the contrary.

At this moment, when my propinquity is beyond a doubt established to be nearer one of the litigants than the other, I continue to profess my invariable sentiments and wishes, that he, whose right it is, shall succeed, from a conviction, that political might, in such a contest, may confer more disgrace on a successful candidate, than real honour, because, in my estimation, genuine Nobility of Soul, is the only peerage that can prove eternal.

This sterling Worth, that Diamond pure shall be
A Peer—of the first magnitude—to me.

Should my Borthwick kinsmen ever see these lines, I fondly flatter myself, they may all learn to seek justice without harbouring any dishonourable passions of envy, malice, or revenge, since I have ample reasons for saying, that those who have been deemed unfeeling aggressors, from a concurrence of unknown events, do not merit the reproach, on the contrary, their hearts are as much alive to all the charities of human nature, as some of their most interested calumniators, who are, by no means, the principals in this unfortunate family warfare, whatever they may have mutually done to embitter, foment, and prolong it to every body's cost but their own.

To some very importunate demands for a subscription for the lamented Lord Melville's monument, my ordinary answer was, that there being so great a number of my countrymen who had benefited by his Lordship's munificence and patronage, there could be no necessity for application to a man who did not owe the deceased a single sixpence worth of gratitude, since, if every individual, who was 1000*l.* the richer by his departed patron's influence, would gratefully acknowledge, at the rate of 100*l.*, for such a notable purpose, there could be no doubt of a mausoleum to honoured worth, soon rising in majestic pomp, to look down on the good City of Edinburgh, from Arthur's seat, for ever. I must, nevertheless, acknowledge, that his Lordship did me the gracious honour of conveying my letter, with three volumes of Hindoostanee Philology, splendidly bound, to His present Majesty, though I never yet learned, whether that ponderous Work was ever dignified with an humble niche in the Royal Library or not. Lord Melville had, moreover, the generous politeness to own receipt of some plans from me, for establishing a naval corps of natives at Prince of Wales' Island, as a nursery for Lascars, (*Lushkurees*) in time of war, for the safe navigation of our Indian ships, and for the better preservation of our seamen, in those destructive climates, from the wooding and watering duties that kill them in scores. To the best of my recollection, I likewise advised, that the negro regiments in the West Indies, should be converted into seamen or marines, for martial and menial services in both hemispheres, with less local danger than might yet attend their existence in great bodies at Jamaica, or in any other of those islands, and my nautical observations were closed with an effectual mode of manning the Royal Navy, in peace or war, without hurting the feelings of those gallant fellows, or subjecting them any longer to a very harsh and unjustifiable conscription. These communications have long lain dormant, perhaps, in some of the Admiralty pigeon holes, and may never see the light of day again, unless our political Aurora perform a serious incubation, to hatch them here, even in a colder latitude, than

the meridian of the British metropolis. In the event of that Political Journal meeting with the general encouragement, which, I trust, its contents will yet merit; such countenance from my countrymen, may induce me to commence a *Popular Winter and Summer Course of Lectures*, on the most prominent and striking features of Man's Eventful History, since he sprung from the plastic hands of an Almighty and All-bounteous Creator. The discourses will touch, with a powerful though rational pencil, in regular succession, the following objects of universal interest to mankind: viz. Remarks on the Origin and Progress, Use and Abuse of Elementary and General Education, Morality and Religion, Arts and Sciences, General Policy and Political Economy, of War and Peace, Agriculture and Commerce, Liberty and Slavery, Property, Rights and Privileges, Social Order and Rank in Society, Navigation and Travels, with a variety of Miscellaneous matter, which cannot be arranged in a hasty, rude sketch like the present, submitted in the hurry of the moment, for urgent reasons, to the readers of this Pamphlet.

In the articles of Morality and Religion, some seasonable Strictures will be made on a New View of Social Life and Happiness, which will soon be published. The Section on Liberty will resuscitate all the martyrs who have yet bled in that sacred cause, in any part of the globe; while Religion will shew the similar magnanimous figures on that terrible stage of Christian and Protestant sufferings.

Under the head of Education, my animadversions on the Lancastrian and other mechanical systems, will be fully displayed, with elliptical and hieroglyphic improvements, by way of infusing an intellectual soul in those methods, which only go the length of forming man into a passive, perhaps, brutal automaton, for the base purposes of a despotic Government, while mine is calculated to render him the free, active, contented, intelligent member of society, in all the gradations of life, in those nations whose courage and virtue

will grow from, and flourish, under the fostering arms of a liberal system of Government.

In this division of my projected forensic labours, some observations on the practicability of a general character and universal language, founded on the possible construction of an abecedarian clock, will be introduced, as the unerring basis of every such attempt for the common good of mankind.

Should success so far attend my endeavours, the grand *desideratum*, that has probably caused the failure of former speculators on this subject, must at once be attained for confining orthoepy and orthography, within the limits of mathematical precision, upon the mechanical principles of such a machine as will simultaneously discover the figure and sound of any letter yet known in the world, more accurately than a common wooden clock already strikes two of them, viz. oo and k, in *kukoo*. As the Bible Society alone may yet save thousands of pounds on an endless variety of uncouth, untractable types, which are at present required, they surely must wish me success in laying a foundation for the boundless saving of time, labour, &c. by such an invention to Lancastrian schools in every country, and, consequently, to the whole human race.

Before these sheets had gone to Press, I received what follows, from my friend and fellow Reformer, Captain William Johnston, and deem it a duty to all parties, to state his sentiments thus:

"Your Letter to ——— I have read; believe me, when I say, that no man is more tremblingly alive, than I am, when personally attacked in a public paper; in the one I alluded to, I really do not feel myself attacked, but highly honoured, at my name entwined in the same wreath with our inestimable Friend; and I much suspect, if the Grub was to spin his nonsense over again, he had not associated us, as he has done, in a single paragraph. It is true, he charges me, with having preached the doctrines, of "Liberty and Equality," but not taking the pains to define either, I do not consider myself called upon to make a single observation, and shall

decline doing so, until he opens himself a little more, which if he does, he may depend on it I shall not be silent. Had I not acted in this manner twenty years ago, my time had been altogether employed in answering every silly remark on my public conduct—this I strictly avoided.”

To many disgraceful instances of unwarrantable and unmanly persecution, that recent one of Dr. Mylne’s lately published, in Glasgow, must be fresh in every man’s mind, who prefers the freedom of his country, and the good name of her meritorious sons, to the rank of any official jackall or lion’s provider, who may be let loose, by some miscreant informer, to prowl unmolested among the peaceful retreats of domestic life. Many people have wondered, that the whole body of the respectable Professors in the Glasgow College, have not come boldly forwards, to declare individually upon honour, “I am not the man;” that some Nathan of the West may then indignantly pronounce to some miserable reptile, “Thou indeed art the Judas who betrayed thy benefactor for thirty talents of gold or silver, and if thou still hast one spark of the honest remorse left in thy guilty breast, which nerved even the base heart of thy prototype, go instantly to the Potter’s Field, and there like him, make the *amende honorable* still in thy power, to thine insulted country, and thy calumniated friend.” Such a spectacle should really be now suspended, *sua sponte in terrorem*, in golden chains, as the *secret service money spectre*, to those aspiring black glossy *clocks*, which are said to be crawling about the bed rooms of reforming politicians, in more cities than one, to report the substance of such curtain lectures, as can throw any light on their honourable labours as state spies. I have a promise of the means to procure authentic lists of such vermin, including some noted printers’ devils in this country, and in defiance of excommunication by all the pulpit kettle drums in the empire, the day may not be very distant, which will yet shed its reforming rays on the whole swarm, and expose them horned in all their naked deformity, as huge

beetles of the Royal or Elephant breed, to gore every grumbling John Bull's eyes out, with their gilded horns at the dead or solemn hour of night.

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### PURE REFORM RESOLUTIONS.

*To the Editor of the Dumfries and Galloway Courier.*

\* Sir,—At a numerous and respectable meeting of the following classes, viz. tradesmen, mechanics, and shop-keepers, of every description—loungers, tale-bearers, tiplers, club-parties, whisky-shop-politicians, ready tongued gentlemen, party-leaders, and popular advocates—democrats, libertines, free-thinkers, and other powerful supporters of *Equality* and the *Rights of Man*, it was unanimously resolved as follows:

1mo. That we, the origin and foundation of all power, the fountain and headspring of all free government, the life and soul of every public institution, the *primum mobile* of all political life and motion, in whose brains the sage inspiring power of wisdom holds her unrivalled empire, on whose tongues dwell accents of the most salutary *debate*, and in whose breasts *dance* all the sound and philanthropic affections, have seen with deep regret, an upstart race of unproductive nobility, a proud puffed-up set of landholders, an unfeeling and unmerciful pack of farmers, who grind the face of the poor, and turn their backs on the complaints of the needy—a burdensome lumber of dependants on crown influence, and endless variety of orders, both spiritual and temporal, pensioners, half-pay-officers, collectors, excisemen, not to mention the prodigious number of expectants of places, parasites, flatterers, &c. who have usurped that power and those privileges which by right and by inheritance belong to us.

2do. That, by means of the unjust, unfair, and unnatural usur-

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\* This Royal Poacher on forbidden Radical ground, has come very opportunely to pepper his own peacocks, at whom we durst not otherwise have taken a single shot.

pation of our rights and privileges, a dangerous weight and influence is placed on the side of our natural antagonists, whereby they can at pleasure, shuffle us out of our due place, rank, and dignity, laugh at and despise our opinions, depreciate our worth and talents, and establish a system of laws quite contrary to the interests of all who wish to live at large, inimical to the freedom and equalization of our species, and downright antipodes to the sentiments of this refined *age of reason* and *common sense*.

3d. That while the landed interest preponderates so strongly in the scale of Parliamentary influence, our bread, our beef, our beer, our provisions of all kinds, and above all, our whisky, being the produce of the soil, must come to our mouths through the hands, and at the mercy, of those alone whose interest it is that they should be at a price far above their *natural and intrinsic value*, so that our bellies may be contracted to our back-bones before we need ever expect a fall in these articles. But whereas the ground and the fruits which it produces are the free gift of nature to man, we have therefore an unalienable right to enjoy them free and unrestrained, and we will no longer endure to see them usurped by those who pretend to be their proprietors—those “lilies of the valley that neither toil nor spin;”—and whereas the farmer who cultivates the soil has a right only to such day-wages as he may be able to earn by manual labour, it necessarily follows that all the land ought to be parcelled out among us who are so much more worthy of it, on account of the enlargement of our minds, and that they, as well as their landlords, ought to become our servants or rather slaves—a situation much better suited to their selfish and contracted natures. These principles and these rights we are determined to maintain, at the expense of our blood, treasure, reputation, industry, and families.

4th. That we will be punctual and zealous in attending all those popular meetings, clubs, and assemblies (even though our daily occupations should be neglected, and our families starve) where political questions can be freely discussed over the inspiring fumes of

whisky, that enlarger of the heart, and that friend to unshackled freedom;—where our schemes of equality may be matured;—where our enemies, the rich, the learned, and the pious, may be treated with that contempt and indignity they deserve;—and where we may unreservedly indulge in giving way to those noble ideas and grand conceptions which fill our hearts.

5th. That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. M. P. and to Major Cartwright. Also, to Adam Ferrie, and Borthwick Gilchrist, Esqs. presidents of recent meetings held at Edinburgh and Glasgow, for the very powerful, strenuous, and vigorous exertions which they have made in behalf of our rights and privileges; for the very manly, resolute, and single-handed opposition they have given to existing measures; for the clear, persuasive, and irresistibly convincing manner in which they have unfolded the principles of a free and equal constitution, and of a fair and impartial representation; for the very ingenious manner in which they have examined, analysed, and turned the *inside out*, of our present radically wrong system of government, showing, in a light clear and striking as noon-day, the absolute necessity of *Reform*, without which, matters will still go from evil to worse, and the whole fabric be turned upside down; and, finally for the very liberal support, indulgence, and encouragement they have given to popular assemblies, so congenial to our wishes, and so well calculated to ascertain the sentiments and opinions of so large and respectable a class of citizens and fraternized associations.

(Signed,) FRENZY BOUNDLESS.

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To Frenzy Boundless, Esq. alias Bob Blunderbuss, Esq. of
Bull Horn Court, Dumfries.

SIR!

Will your *Highness* permit a very humble Calf like me to cast up an imploring Sheep's eye, with a few bleating ejaculations, to a Divinity so truly sublime, as the *Man* in the *Moon*, who is, in

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your person, reflecting his *opaque* light on this lower world, through the *Royal Lens* of the Glasgow and Galloway Couriers. Do not, I beseech you, most Rectilinear Candle Snuffer! condescend to clap your own *lunar abode*, as an *Extinguisher* on the *Noon Day Sun*, lest you adumbrate every *luminary* but your own, and thereby expose to the Reformers, that very *darkness*, which has become more *visible* than ever, by such *lucubrations* as thine. What particular service the *Royalists* are to expect from your *patent lamp*, suspended in *Empyræo*, and newly trimmed to shed the *dawn of reason* on their cause, I cannot yet divine, though from some of its *Jack-a-lantern* glimmerings, one *truth* is pretty *apparent*, that your *air gun* rather fires *backwards* on your own friends, than *forwards* among your foes. Go on, and prosper with these random *Shrapnells* of yours, by *shooting* all the *birds of prey* through *the head*, whom you have, perhaps unintentionally, only *winged* by your point blank fire from the clouds. The *magazine*, whence your ball cartridges have been borrowed, is so admirably adapted for the *Radical Laboratory*, that you shall soon have the pleasure of seeing it—all in a reverberated blaze on your own side of the field, where there can be no doubt of your then *figuring away* as a *Constellation* of the first magnitude—the *Ursa Major* at least. You are in fact, Sir! the very *Gleed Ganner* we have been so long in quest of, and for your *volunteer ammunition* we are bound in gratitude and duty, to consider your *Luniform Worship* as the *best Butt*, or *fair Target*, for a *Reforming Archer*, who is yours to command, in *that capacity*, though rather unacquainted with the *tactics* of—

A BLUNDERBUSS.

GLASGOW,
26th October, 1815.

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PROSPECTUS OF A NEW WEEKLY JOURNAL,

UNDER THE APPROPRIATE APPELLATION OF

AURORA BOREALIS;

OR THE LOYAL POLITICAL SPECULUM,

To be published every Friday or Saturday Morning, and regularly transmitted, if possible, free from carriage expence, to all the Subscribers in the United Kingdom, from Glasgow or Edinburgh, as circumstances may hereafter require, of which due intimation will be given to the Public.

"Honesty will ever prove the best Policy for Kings, Nations, and Individuals, since Truth, Reason and Justice must ultimately triumph, both upon this Earth, and in the Kingdom of Heaven."

Each number will consist of sixteen royal octavo pages, closely printed in a neat distinct type, and the price to Subscribers will be One Shilling only, to commence the moment a sufficient number of quarterly subscriptions *in advance* are obtained, merely to defray the expence of stamps, printing, paper, &c.

The community have it completely in their own power to create or suppress this projected impartial work, which has originated rather in the ardent wishes of one individual to do public good, than in any views of great private emolument: His publication, therefore, must stand or fall by its intrinsic deserts alone, as the projector solemnly disclaims every other prospect of partial support.

The facility with which a Weekly Journal, like the one here proposed, can communicate every essential information respecting political events of vital consequence to the country, at this critical period of national affairs, leads the Editor to believe, that his collection will speedily become a favourite work, not only with persons affluent enough to afford it, but, in many situations, where twelve individuals can easily club their penny each, for such a concentrated view of important intelligence, to every freeman, who really loves his native land, as the favoured seat of genuine liberty, with all its concurrent blessings, in every station of life.

Under an impression of the momentous circumstances of the present times, it has often been alleged, that the people in Scotland want the opportunity, not the inclination, of learning those things well, which belong to their permanent peace, as the loyal subjects of the state; and that they would gladly patronise any unprejudiced exhibition of the various political opinions, among those writers, who either have supported or condemned the measures of government during the last thirty years. For this purpose, the *Political Speculum* will be found a cheap and commodious compilation, exhibiting, in regular succession, on both sides of every interesting question, as they may occur, the various sentiments, however discordant, that may be consequently broached, in the several publications which treat of national affairs, in any part of the empire. The whole series of extracts will be so arranged, and contrasted with each other, that every reader may have it completely in his power to draw such inferences only, as the nature of the case, after mature deliberation, shall authorise; it being the Editor's positive desire rather to hold up a mirror, for the discovery of sterling truth to all his readers, than a camera obscura for the currency of falsehood, or the triumph of deception, since he knows no party in the state, so dear to him as that of his country.

After fulfilling the above promises, the remaining pages of the *Speculum* will be conscientiously devoted to a selection of short Essays, Parliamentary Debates, State Papers, or other Miscellaneous Extracts, more or less connected with an unbiassed display of the reigning topics of literary and colloquial discussions on politics, whatever their difference may be, that every thinking man may judge on these also, for his self, and act accordingly, as shall seem, in his estimation, most conducive to the welfare of the British Commonwealth, composed of King, Lords, and Commons. Though it be not the intention of the compiler, generally speaking, to use the *Speculum* as a vehicle for original poems, essays, &c. he will, as far as possible, accommodate all political parties, indiscriminately, when any one of their adherents conceives that he can defend or confute

particular dogmas with success, more especially such as have a decided reference to Parliamentary Reform, either of a moderate or radical nature, as this alternative is allowed, on all hands, to be one of the most vital objects for serious consideration, in these eventful times.

Should such patriotic themes, as those already narrated, still leave room for other matters of importance to the universal comfort and peace of mankind, connected with the acknowledged progression of human intellect, they shall not be overlooked, because the pious, wise, and good, in every rank of society, are deeply concerned, that no baneful retrogression, in religion, literature, constitutional liberty, or political economy, shall, in our own days, commence, without exciting that temperate collision of sentiment, among enlightened men, which alone can detect error and falsehood, or support justice and truth, in the various transactions of human life.

From the foregoing premises, it will, at once, be evident, that the *Speculum* cannot reflect the ordinary news or scandal of the day, nor will its pages be occupied with those innumerable, fascinating articles, which are usually found in contemporary periodical works, unless they shall tend, some way or other, to elucidate the hebdomadal state of national politics.

Advertisements, births, marriages, deaths, and every notice of that sort, will, of course, be wholly omitted, as accidents, which seldom can affect the political horizon in general, however much they might exhilarate or depress those local and domestic circles, more immediately connected with such occurrences. The existing state of the nation, the welfare of the public, and the stability of the state, upon constitutional principles, must inevitably render all other articles of little comparative moment; those grand national objects therefore will naturally take precedence, in the *Speculum*, of every other partial or inferior concern.

Without any farther formal avowal or concealment of the Editor's own political sentiments, he intends to induce the whole of his readers, if possible, to draw their own conclusions, from that candid and select

exhibition, which, he trusts, will ever distinguish his labours, for public approbation, as he is determined to obtrude no peculiar notions of his own, that can any way affect the impartiality, which he would ever allow to, and request from the community, among whom his work will be circulated.

This body of his fellow citizens, may perhaps with some propriety and justice, be thus classified into pure Royalists, Royalists, Loyalists, Trimmers, and natural or adventitious Apathists, on the following principles.

The first class are supposed to inculcate the divine rights of, and passive obedience to the sovereign; thence affirming, that his vassals have nothing more to do with his laws, than to obey them.

With the second, monarchs are venerated as legitimate enough, if merely supported by a suitable aristocracy, which may occasionally condescend to acknowledge popular rights, so far as to inform majesty itself, that some consideration is really due to their fellow subjects, who should consequently possess, at least, a nominal representation in parliament.

In the third class, will be found the Loyalists, since they alone, as their name from *loi*, a law, imports, erect all power upon, being evidently derived from, the laws of the land, established by the common voice of the people, in person or by representatives.

This glorious superstructure may be justly termed the English constitution, which acknowledges a representative House of Commons, with hereditary Peers, to support a hereditary King, for the good of the commonwealth; these three estates being previously solemnly bound, by reciprocal oaths, to be true and faithful, in their respective duties, to the whole combined, as one free and sovereign nation, thus exhibiting, in symmetrical proportions, a popular pedestal, sustaining a noble shaft, crowned with a regal capital, as a perfect model of a free government, which, while so preserved, may almost bid defiance equally to the tides of contending factions, and

the strange vicissitudes of times and seasons, among the sons of men*.

The designation of the fourth class of politicians denotes, that they are prepared to join whatever party shall, *pro tempore*, prove most powerful, while the subdivision of Apathists, sufficiently demonstrates, that as many quiet people are so, by the passiveness of their natural disposition, not a few of the most prudent folk, in this selfish age, belong to the fifth division, through fear, despair, compulsion, or ignorance.

Men of all parties, however, seem now agreed, that the present march of the human mind to attainable perfection, in every science, can neither be long retarded, nor arrested, by any thing short of an omnipotent arm, and they begin wisely to conclude, that the intellectual progress of man, nevertheless, may be so regulated, in its pursuit of truth and social happiness, as to prevent any serious evils from objects, otherwise, so delectable to every rational being, either as an inhabitant of earth, or a candidate for heaven.

This sentiment seems peculiarly conspicuous in all the harmonious co-operations of the Bible and other liberal societies, which have lately been established, on the most tolerant and benevolent principles, for the promotion of man's felicity, both in this world, and in that, which is far beyond the grave.

Ignorance and superstition are fast following the footsteps of African slavery, not only from the British shores, but from those distant regions also, where the light of truth, and the rays of genuine

* It is hoped, that the judicious reader will consider the above, as a much more correct metaphor, than the celebrated Mr. John Reeves' simile of an oak tree, the branches of which, he affirmed, might be lopped off, without any injury to the royal stem, whence, in his creed, they originally sprung. He was ordered, by Parliament, to be prosecuted, at the instance of the Attorney-General, for a gross libel on the English constitution; but has since found so firm a foundation for his doctrines, on the law and the gospel, that, by the Crown, he has been appointed to print the Bible,—to be head of the Alien Office,—and, moreover, a Chief Justice in Newfoundland.

liberty, have long been diverging from their parent Isle, which can, at last, contemplate with rapture, the pious unanimity of her exalted sons, in the glorious cause of religious reform, however discordant, in minor points of their own faith, among these benighted nations, who have never yet enjoyed the cheering sun of the gospel of peace and good-will to all mankind.

While every art and science, which are supposed most conducive to the fruition of a comfortable existence, or a hopeful death, are cultivated and encouraged with zeal, generosity, and brotherly love, among Christians of every persuasion, can the right to rational freedom, and that venerable constitution, which secures so great a blessing, remain much longer a matter of cold indifference to Britons, whose acknowledged pre-eminence, in arms, religion, literature, and commerce, originates from, and is supported by, that very form of government, which in its pristine purity, is alone capable of preserving its subjects, to distant ages, as a brave, wise, benevolent, and free people?

Such a degrading supposition, is totally inconsistent with all those great events by which we are constantly surrounded, and the day surely cannot be far distant, when, instead of being denounced as a crime, it will be considered the bounden duty of every person, who can read his vernacular tongue, to learn something of those political maxims and practices, in his native country, that, sooner or later, must inevitably stamp himself, or his posterity, as freemen or slaves.

There are thousands, in every populous place, who can easily discriminate a good persuasive sermon, from one that is bad or indifferent, though they might neither possess those talents nor courage which are requisite to constitute an eloquent divine; and, by a parity of reasoning, may we not likewise presume, there must be an equal number, who can discern the wisdom, folly, or fraud, of any legislative measure, while they would make but sorry statesmen, in their several capacities; why then should men, of plain understandings, be supposed less capable of comprehending a political discussion, than a theological discourse, or that the knowledge which

leads to temporal security of life, person, and property, is at all incompatible with or destructive of eternal salvation?

At the period of that radical reform of religion, which was adopted, by the voice of the people in these realms, an English translation of the Bible unlocked the whole of its heavenly treasures to vulgar eyes, with the happiest consequences to society, and, since that auspicious period, it has become a classical book of revelation, at most of our public and private schools; thus putting it in the power of every reader, while reason is only dawning on his juvenile mind, to think and act for himself, in the important duty of saving his own precious soul, by lively faith and good works, according to his individual interpretation of the scriptures.

To this salutary exercise of judgment and discrimination, even in early youth, none but the persecuting priest, or the bigotted layman, have hitherto objected; on the contrary, the whole host of our pious and wise Christians is at present sedulously engaged in extending this privilege, not only to all their fellow subjects, but to the whole human race, without exception of language, creed, colour, or clime, and on the benign principle, that the Gospel of our blessed Redeemer, as far transcends the heathen doctrines, as our representative form of government, and admirable laws, excel every other system and code, yet known on the surface of the terrestrial globe.

To those who aspire to a heavenly kingdom, the road is laid open, and the liberality of modern times has judiciously confessed, that, provided the circumferential starting posts be truly Christian, every separate path has an equal right with another, to terminate in the one central point of all their belief, and expectations.

This general concession has produced a unity of action, and harmony of result, with education in one hand, and the Bible in the other, every way auspicious to the grand cause, which must be nearest the heart of each individual, who is, nevertheless, at full liberty to examine, and discuss those particular tenets, before the public tribunal, wherein the various sects differ from his own, or the esta-

blished churches, with which he may occasionally come in contact, while preaching the same essential truth of the everlasting gospel, from the rivers and the sea, to the utmost ends of the earth.

If babes and children have their serious duties to perform in religion, as previous steps to immortal bliss, shall intelligent beings, who have attained the age of manhood, be denied, in politics, the same free access to those ancient charters and bills of their native land, which declare and secure those valuable rights that compose all our joy and happiness, as constituent members of the united empire, rising like a colossal pillar above every nation in Europe, from that popular representation, as a massy and solid pedestal, which will long be the glory and boast of every true Briton.

With this idea of the matter, it becomes both the privilege and duty of every loyal subject to take a survey of its foundation, construction, and proportionate qualities, from top to bottom, whatever impediments may occasionally be thrown in his way, by such empirical statuary, as prefer the meretricious trappings of the Corinthian, to the durable simplicity of the Tuscan order, in state architecture.

The chief end of every upright government must be to promote human happiness, as far as this may prove consistent with the laws and rules, which usually preserve order and peace in society, and the nearer these shall approach to reason, equity, and truth, the more venerable will they appear, in the estimation of all who either obey or dispense them, for the common weal.

Had Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and a few such inestimable documents, for rational freedom, been duly introduced, among the other English exercises at all schools, there can be no question, but our general progress, in the art of visible government, would have at least kept pace with our faith, in the mysterious economy of an invisible kingdom, yet to come, and we should have been indeed ashamed of ignorance or apathy in the first, because all its springs and motions, come as much within the sphere of human knowledge, and capacity, as the last soars above the comprehension of the wisest of men.

It is possible enough, that, in the fashionable improvement of national education, and morals, the best briefs of our own fundamental law may soon go hand in hand with the gospel of Christ; and as this is a consummation, devoutly to be wished by all political parties in the country, there is nothing to hinder them also, from starting as brethren, who love to dwell in unity, and concord together, while they travel to that goal of mortal felicity, for the accomplishment of which, Kings and Governors of the earth have been, or ought to be, elected by the voice of the people as the mandate of God, that they may love and obey their rulers accordingly.

Let the divine radiance of the Christian religion, shine abroad among the nations of the earth, accompanied at the same time with a general saving knowledge, among ourselves, of that mild, equitable light of civil law, which is peculiar to the English constitution, and the result will soon reward the generous labours of those who may henceforth embark in societies and meetings, to promote the holy cause of religious and rational freedom, of social peace, domestic happiness, and of national prosperity, among all their fellow creatures, throughout the world.

Should the progressive lucubrations of the *Loyal Speculum*, any way contribute to so desirable an event, the Editor will congratulate himself, that he has not wholly laboured in vain, though his pecuniary gains may not ultimately compensate him for the expenditure of time and money, devoted to this darling object of his heart for many years, and which he now consigns, with a mixture of hope and fear, for immediate adoption or rejection, by his countrymen.

He looks with confidence for patronage, more especially to those patriotic and respectable individuals, who are members of the Pitt, Fox, Whig, and Hampden Clubs, or of those numerous philanthropic associations, who generously dispense the joys of religious tuition, with all the charities of human nature, to such persons, as are in want of them, at home or abroad.

This Prospectus being made up in the paper, and type, of

the projected publication, its merits, so far, may at one view be ascertained, and as the Editor's introductory appeal here will constitute part of the first number of the work hereafter, his future readers may consequently always have it in their power, to recall him to recorded principles and declarations, whenever they shall detect any aberrations from such a promising foundation, in the course of his Editorial duties to the subscribers in particular, and to the community at large. The form will resemble Cobbet's Register, in two columns in each page.

On their parts, it is evident, that they must either generously support the *Speculum* at once by a respectable number of names, with a *prompt quarterly advance*, or passively allow it to be extinguished, as the still-born corruscation of an embryo meteor, in those sheets, which, under a more auspicious conjunction of celestial signs, might have become a polar constellation of no small magnitude, utility, and renown.

The preliminary heavy disbursements for a regular supply of the Courier, Times, Pilot, Morning Post, Star, Sun, Herald, Quarterly Review, Antigallican, &c. &c. on one side; with the Morning Chronicle, Globe, Statesman, Sunday Review, Whig, Cobbet, Examiner, &c. &c. on the other, compel the Editor, in common prudence and self-defence, to secure, *a priori*, the large pecuniary aid required; he therefore trusts, that each liberal friend of a free press, whom these presents may reach, in that character, will collect and forward all the subscriptions obtained by them individually, as directed, in the written address, to that effect, which will accompany the respective list.

<i>Subscribers Names and Address.</i>	<i>Quarterly advance.</i>	<i>By whom received in.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>

The Gentlemen, who are obliging enough to take charge of these Subscription Lists, will have the goodness to forward them as

soon as possible, along with the cash received, to Dr. Borthwick Gilchrist, Edinburgh, by such opportunities as will prevent risk, and save unnecessary expence.

They are, moreover, earnestly requested to circulate the Prospectus widely among their friends and acquaintances, who may think favourably of a Print, expressly intended for the discovery of truth, and exposure of error in politics, at the bar of every man's own discriminative judgment; because nothing but the physical strength of numbers, united in a good cause, on constitutional principles, can resist the single hand of despotic power in a bad one, at least, as long as the devices of Satan shall blind the eyes of poor deluded mortals to their present and future welfare, amidst the lugubrious infection of general corruption.

It is confidently presumed, that seasonable measures will be adopted by those who take a friendly interest in the immediate appearance and continued lustre of the *Aurora Borealis*, for the speedy collection and remittance of sums advanced in all quarters, that the whole may reach their destination, as early as possible; and if an adequate fund shall thus be formed, the time, proprietor, printer, &c. of the *Loyal Speculum* will be duly announced, otherwise the money will be faithfully returned to every contributor.

I feel more solicitous on this public service, to guard myself against all farther encroachments on my private purse, already drained to the bottom by eternal taxes, collections, subscriptions, &c., to say nothing of Two Hundred Pounds, of which I have been recently in a great measure swindled by some of my Christian Neighbours. They appointed me Convener and Treasurer of a Committee for the late elegant and useful improvements of Nicolson Square, with ample powers, as I can prove from the minutes of proceeding, to act as I have done, and the consequence of a faithful and zealous discharge of these duties, has most unjustly subjected me to the loss of Two Hundred Pounds as stated above. For the mere money I would not give a spittle, but the ill manners with which I have hitherto been treated, induced me to persevere in the up-hill

work of doing one's self justice, at the tribunal of a small court, called conscience, but which seems in my hard appeal, to have been adjourned *sine die*. As a warning beacon to simple Loyalists like myself, against such large pecuniary sacrifices, I shall publish in successive numbers of the Speculum, the origin, progress, and fatal termination of all my superintending labours for my fellow citizens, with our correspondence on the subject, that the world may decide also in this instance, whether I more sinned against, than sinning among the discreet, prudent, moral, pious, honest and charitable folks, among whom my tent has been pitched for the last ten years of a miserable existence. One fact alone will in the mean time speak volumes to every impartial judge, between me and my improving associates, viz. I have defied them to point out any part of my exertions, which could with propriety or safety have been dispensed with, to the amount of ten pounds, and still, I alone am nefariously saddled with Two Hundred. The poor fiddle which had been erected as an emblem of our concord, in the pleasure ground, must at last give way to a Welsh Harp, which I shall yet place for a warning sign at the north Pole, to play such a *solo*, as truth, reason, and justice may perform, without raising a blush on the open face, which will induce him to tune every string in the instrument, with the rosin of a very stubborn stuff, called plain matter of fact, for the amusement of so harmonious a City as Edinburgh.

As a Citizen, who is conscious, in this last affair, of having deserved well of the Magistrates, for so far seconding some of their laudable efforts to embellish the town in every direction, I had a right to hope for some pecuniary aid, in mitigation of my private loss, for altering a part of the pavement, where the limbs and lives of the lieges were in imminent danger every winter, and for which, I solicited a small subscription from the genteel inhabitants of George's Square, who often have to pass the very spot, which was improved at the expense of Seventy Pounds—Good reader! what do you imagine was the result of this mendicant application, seconded by the recital of Nicolson's Square, having formerly on a similar

principle, been as liberal as their circumstances permitted—the whole collection thus made amounted to eight Shillings, not enough to pay for printing the address for so much neighbourly relief.

The town funds are so much engaged in many other jobs, such as reciprocal donations of Silver Cups, Gold Snuff-Boxes, among a self-elected, and self-approving Magistracy, that I had nothing to expect from such a Bankrupt quarter, the City being over head and ears in debt, for (as far as the inhabitants know any thing of their accounts) the Lord—Provost perhaps knows what. In justice to the Sheriff, I have to acknowledge the small aid of Fifty Pounds, which we received through his kind offices, as a compromise for a particular claim on certain Commissioners' funds, but it is a duty owing myself farther to state, that the amount of expence for public repairs, alterations and improvements, in which the Square was not exclusively concerned, exceeded £130 sterling, being just £85 sterling more, than we have yet received from either the town or county funds—In fact, the former were so much mortgaged, that we, on this score, had nothing to expect, independent of the ill will which the southern districts have acquired, by not crouching on all occasions to magisterial despotism.

The writer and compiler of this Pamphlet, uses the freedom to close it with the verbal outlines of an intended sketch for a Frontispiece to the whole, but which could not be executed in Glasgow, on the spur of the occasion, though it will probably be kept in readiness for the Second Edition, should the first make impression enough to require a duplicate, &c. for general circulation through the whole Empire. The City Arms and Motto of Edinburgh, to be neatly Emblazoned with a Horned Owl Gules, perched on the very pinnacle of the Battlements. On one side of the Gate an English Bull Dog, opposite to a Scottish Colley, both with lifted legs and keen eyes, rivetted on the Watch Tower Centinel. In the front ground, a strong Curly Headed Tup, will be descried advancing from a retrogressive aim all the way from Glasgow, in the distance view, as a Battering Ram, against the double-

faced doors of the Citadel, with this inscription on the ample forehead of the Beast.

O Edina! Inveni Portum.

Now or Never,
Reform for Ever.

Proh pudor tu es vile Scortum!

Anglice, a hackneyed *courtezan*, though not quite the Whore of Babylon, whatever the Dear Old Lady may be when our kind allies, the Bourbons, and other Continental Despots, condescend to give her the fraternal hug on the glowing bed of the Holy Inquisition, in spite of these verses:

In a great house, one sapient sage thus spoke,
The Kirk of Scotland stands upon a rock,
Which neither winds nor waves can e'er beat down;
Her priests so far are safe—they cannot drown.
Such doctrine in these days, can never do
At feasts, grand routes, the court, or Sunday pew.
For now, all run to hear Sir Jehu preach,
Or the right reverend, peerless Peer, Lord Leech.
Why shall not titles grace her Sion's walls?
As well as prebends, deans, or vicars' stalls;
* *Quid's head*—proclaims a royal warm address,
In which the Kirk and Elders all confess,
That our brave Prince, and martial Duke—these two
Have the whole godlike praise of Waterloo.
Then with this courtly creed, thus end the prayer,
That in the battle, Blucher had no share;
Nor do we yet believe, the King of kings was there.

Having applied in vain, to several Booksellers in the Capital of Scotland, to receive my Pamphlet for sale, I gave the attempt over as a fruitless pursuit, and confined its exposure for that purpose, in great measure, to my own house, though I found not the smallest difficulty, on that score, in the comparatively liberal city of Glasgow. During the whole time of my residence of two weeks there, I experienced, as a stranger, nothing but the kindest hospitality, from

* See page 202, for the Tobacconist's Arms, as a striking illustration of the allusion here.

private individuals, with the utmost politeness and civility on every occasion, from the public, in their elegant and commodious Reading Rooms, though very soon recognized as one of the Radical Reformers, who are not in general, very welcome guests in those fashionable places of resort for opulent merchants, and other wealthy Royalists.

While every honest bosom must glow with rapture at a victory gained, as the gallant Marshal candidly stated, "solely by the superior physical strength and mental energy of British arms opposed in fair field to those of France;" the more intelligent head may ponder on the consequences of so much national glory, and the brave heart of a free Briton will beat with responsive bounds, on such a conquest, terminated by the triumph of Civil and Religious Freedom, from one end of Europe to the other; though the premature, but heroic death of the immortal Porlier, may suspend our congenial emotions, by casting, for a little time, some gloom on our otherwise victorious joy. On the tomb of the Patriot Hero, are inscribed, by his dying request, the annexed sentence, which deserves to be written in letters of gold.

"Feeling souls will respect the ashes of an unfortunate man, who died a martyr in the cause of his country, and was put to death without even the forms of law or justice."

"The savage triumph, says the Morning Chronicle, on this occasion, of the bigotted agents of a still more bigotted Government, may be discovered in the Proclamations and Notices issued by them. They are chiefly remarkable for the ferocity of their exultations over the fall of him, whose temporary ascendancy had filled them with terror, and for the besotted superstition, which must excite the contempt of every rational being. The determined spirit of opposition to tyranny which actuated Porlier, may, in consequence of his death, for a while disappear, but the fears of the Court manifestly show their consciousness of its still being, in a considerable degree, in existence, as they must be conscious, that their measures tend to revolt every Spaniard who makes use of his reason, or the

common feelings of a man. The Eleusynian mysteries were not shrouded in more profound secrecy, than are the oracles of despotism. The initiated alone are permitted to know them. Who dare lift the veil finds instant death, and the Press becomes the exclusive organ of Government. Nothing was free but thought, and the Patriot could scarcely breathe a sigh for his country, without suspicion. Action and speech were only safe as they favoured the views of Government. To doubt, question, or censure, any official action, inferred treasonable designs against the State."

Nothing sheds a brighter lustre on the setting sun of Porlier's days, than the heavenly beams of conjugal love, which converge through the dark valley of death to the heart of a beloved, but absent wife. What her conduct, on that trying occasion has been, we have yet to learn, but, for the honour of the sex, it may safely be presumed, that his disconsolate Lady has really proved herself worthy of such a gallant Lord and affectionate husband, as the noble Porlier, who will live for ever in the annals of Freedom, bursting from the diabolical fangs of the Demon, Tyranny.

An honest Tobacconist, who had by persevering diligence and fair dealing, without once telling a falsehood in his life, even to save the craft from Excise, at last became rich enough to keep a carriage and his conscience together. *Quid* was a man of the old faith, and deemed honesty the best policy, both in good report and in bad report, he accordingly devised a coat of arms for his coach, in this homespun style, with even a dash of Latin, to demonstrate, that he still had a twist of his juvenile *pigtail* at command, in case of extremity, for such a pinch of *Alaba*, or even *Album Græcum*, when required.

Mr. Macaba, for our hero was a true son of St. Andrew, first placed on the door pannels, the bluff head of a Negro, with a tobacco leaf or scroll, issuing from a pair of thick vermilion lips, bearing thi candid inscription :

Who would have thought it,
That Snuff could have bought it.

On the fillet beneath, appeared the Roman Quere,

Quid Rides?

Mr. Mac's *vis a vis* on its first exit, attracted a crowd in the street, and among the rest a blunt English Tar. The motto as far as it was vernacular, seemed to shed light on the Blackamoor's head whence it issued, but the words below, might have been Moors or Arabic for any thing the mobility knew to the contrary. One of them applied to Jack, as a traveller, for his solution of the enigma, who archly squirting the quid from his mouth, replied with his technical phrase, Bliss my eyes, dont you see, that Master Quid rides in his coach, as well as Justice Quorum.

Like Ovid we have changed the Hector Mouse,
Or Correspondent rat, to Tom Thumb's louse,
Whose pie with fleas and bugs, made such a fuss,
*Nunc vale Lector! Finis coronat Opus.**

* The reader may, when he pleases, put his fingers also into the pie, wit the patent puff, which I have baked and fired in my Parnassian oven, for the entertainment of all Radicals, on their constitutional journey to Parliamentary Reform. They will find this *bonne bouche* in page 75 and 76, and may cut it up as I have done, *pro bono publico. Probandum est.*

GLASGOW, 5th September, 1815.

Affairs being now settled ABROAD, 'tis high time to look at HOME.

NAPOLEON is politically dead. PEACE is secured. The security of LIBERTY, PROPERTY and HAPPINESS to the conquered French, is provided for. The REPRESENTATIVES of France have met. They are now sitting. Glorious effect of the diffusion of Political knowledge!

In such a state of things, can BRITAIN forget her Legislative WRONGS? Can she discharge from her memory their baneful consequences—almost incessant War, drooping Commerce, extended Pauperism, and a heart-sickening, a terrific TAXATION? Or, can she reconcile with constitutional Liberty, a PARLIAMENT surrounded by SOLDIERS, with their Bayonets and Ball Cartridges, while it passes a CORN BILL?

Shall, then, our Country, unmindful of her own fetters, forged by violators of her Constitution, supinely look on, while subdued France, her chains struck off, shall be raised to the dignity of Freedom.

The homage which has been universally paid to the fundamental principle of the British Polity, as founded in Nature and Justice, namely, REPRESENTATION, we have seen to constitute the prominent feature, in all modern attempts at improving, by Legislation, the condition of mankind.

Drawn from the fountain head, it is enjoyed in its purity by the twenty Nations which constitute the *United States of America*; it was transplanted into *Canada*; adopted at the period of her revolution, by *France*; communicated to *Corsica*, to the *Netherlands*, to *Venezuela*, to *Old Spain*, &c. not forgetting “The States of *Hanover*,” nor the recent wisdom of the King of *Prussia*.

Shall, then, the People of BRITAIN behold the French Nation left by their conquerors in possession of a *real* Representation, equalized in due proportion to the Population of her Departments; and remain insensible to her own degradation, under an insulting *mockery*, defrauded of the substance of Representation, by those Monopolists of Suffrage, the Patrons of ROTTEN BOROUGHs and the Holders of COUNTY SUPERIORITIES; whereby suffering BRITAIN is in all practical effect enslaved to a factious OLIGARCHY, who have arbitrarily assumed a hateful power of Taxing her without her consent!

No: Victorious BRITAIN shall not forget that she is equally, at least, entitled to Political Liberty with conquered FRANCE!!!

The foregoing Address to the Public, will serve as a Preface to

the following Communication from a Patriot Society; and may satisfy the Reader of the peculiar fitness of THE PRESENT TIME, for exertions to insure the recovery of a lost RIGHT, on which LIBERTY as well as PROPERTY, absolutely depends: And, from the sterling sense of this well-informed and loyal nation, it is confidently to be trusted, that no ordinary animation or unanimity will distinguish its Constitutional exertions; but that it will with ONE VOICE claim that RIGHT.

(CIRCULAR.)

SIR,

I HAVE no small satisfaction in transmitting to you an Extract of Proceedings in an Association for "securing to the People" the Free Election of their Representatives in the Commons House "of Parliament," including the Form of a Petition adopted for circulation, as well as of a Hand-Bill for advertising the same.

The Committee, Sir, anxiously hope you will, at your earliest opportunity, bring under the consideration of the inhabitants of your parts of the country, some Petition for the same object.

For making a beginning, the Committee beg leave to present you with a few Copies of their Form.

The Printer, (Mr. J. M'Creery, London) who keeps his press standing, can send you with dispatch as many more as you may require, at the rate of one shilling and sixpence a sheet, provided your local printers may not be provided with suitable paper.

II. As, in the present case, the object is to secure LIBERTY, which is a sacred right of nature inherent in every individual man, you will probably, Sir, agree with the Committee in opinion, that on this question every man, in his own parish or ward, in his own village or market town, ought to have an opportunity of saying, for himself, whether he prefer being a *person* or a *thing*, a *freeman* or a *slave*.

On this account it seems far more proper that Petitions for the present object should be every where made as easily accessible to the People as possible, rather than that they should be proposed in General Meetings of large cities or counties, which very few in comparison can attend.

And, Sir, it is peculiarly fit and desirable, that such persons as are in too indigent a situation (much of which has been the consequence of misgovernment) to be subject to "*direct taxation*," should

nevertheless be freely allowed to sign Petitions, which only pray that persons *so taxed* shall have votes in elections, while themselves are excluded.

The signatures of such persons must be evidence that they are not contending for *universal suffrage*, but would feel themselves in a state of protection and security they do not now enjoy, provided the basis of national freedom had the extent proposed.

Such persons, as our fellow-countrymen, as a most numerous and truly important part of the community, have an unquestionable right to join in a measure for the common protection; and it is the evident dictate of wisdom, that they should be invited so to do.

III. The Committee, Sir, are aware, that among persons who, from the obvious necessity of Reform, virtuously make it an *object* of desire, an *end* to be pursued, there are those who yet have no very accurate idea of the *means*; and some in particular, who have not even taken the trouble to ascertain, in their own minds, an essential point, namely, what is the continuance of a Parliament which is required by the Constitution.

On a point so fundamental, and most easily solved, they are so careless, as to suffer themselves to remain in *doubt*.

Now, Sir, it is certain, that, so far as on this point our Constitution is to be evidenced, either by centuries of sound practice, or by the presence, or by the absence of declaratory Law, we find, that for more than twelve hundred years, from the first sovereignty of its Saxon *Founders* within this island, in the year 450, down to the year 1694, a parliament of a longer continuance than *one year*, never had the pretended sanction of a statute.

"Liberty," as observed by Blackstone, "being the very end and scope of the English Constitution,"* because Liberty is a sacred right of Man's nature, not even the practice of many centuries, unless founded in justice and reason, ought to be taken as a full proof of what, as an *essential* of the Constitution, is *unalterable* by parliament, that is, by any power less than that of the nation itself, *personally* deciding.

Long practice, therefore, unless so sound and so just, as to stand the test of reason, we admit is not to be relied on for proving what is constitutional,

IV. Our absolute right, independent of practice, long or short, good or bad, to parliaments of a continuance not exceeding *one year*, is demonstrated in the following manner:

Liberty being an Englishman's best inheritance, and it being his right to enter into the whole of his inheritance on attaining one-and-twenty years of age, if he be kept out of the best part of that inheritance for seven years, for three years, or for any other period of time, his liberty and property are violated.

If he can have no certainty for the enjoyment of property in free-

* Com. I. 6.

dom itself, his property in lands, in goods, or chattels, cannot have a shadow of security.

On a supposition that the House of Commons really did fully and equally represent the People, yet, even in that case, *septennial* parliaments would deprive the whole Nation of its Liberty for six parts in seven of human life; as under *triennial* parliaments they would be deprived for two parts in three of human life.

As this principle equally forbids *biennial* parliaments, you have here a demonstration, that neither our Constitution, nor our Liberties, nor reason, nor justice, will endure parliaments of a continuance exceeding *one year*.

V. Under yearly parliaments, and supposing them to be regularly elected on a day certain, every Englishman would then, some time within the first year of manhood, and so in every succeeding year, enjoy that right of voting in the election of a parliament, which is essential to Liberty.

Hence it is manifest, that "if there ever were a deliberate stab to public liberty and the national sovereignty more flagitious than ordinary—a treason against the Constitution pre-eminent criminal,—it was that of the *triennial* act of 1694."*

Wherefore we must not be surprised, "that *triennial* parliaments, while we had them, were offensively corrupt, and crowned their perfidy by consigning the Nation to parliaments for seven years."*

VI. Ill, then, would it become Englishmen who know, and who hold sacred the Rights and Liberties of their country, should they put them to hazard by speaking of them *equivocally*.

This were a sacrifice they could not be warranted to make, in mere tenderness to the doubts and dreams of gentlemen too fashionably careless to make themselves masters of the truth, although near the surface of knowledge, and within the compass of a nutshell.

And infinitely more ought men of principle and discernment to disconcert the insidious machinations of the factious, who, under the mask of pretended doubts, systematically and constantly do all in their power to obstruct the work, and to undermine the cause of Reform, that their party may one day despotically rule, as others have done, by corrupt influence.

VII. There are, we also know, too many unfortunate dupes of that notorious cheat, *Expedience*, who are taught to seek, in the first instance, *triennial* rather than *annual* parliaments, on the mere assumption, that 'it were more easy to recover at one stroke, a *part* than the *whole* of our Liberties,—to re-establish, at one exertion, a 'portion of the Constitution, than the entire fabric.'

But this assumption is mere sound without sense; a visionary fancy, contradicted by fact and reason.

* Union's Appeal to the Nation, 52.

A *triennial* parliament is NOT a part of our Liberties; but was, and ever must be, a deadly violation of them.

A *triennial* parliament, as we have proved, neither is, nor was, nor ever can be a portion of the Constitution. While it disgraced our country, its history is this,—It was born in treason, it lived in corruption, it died in infamy.

To imagine that *Liberty*, which is *inherent* in man, a *principle*, an indefeasible *right* of nature, is made up of *parts*, were a gross misconception.

Hence it is a vulgar error, arising from a confusion of ideas, to conclude, that when a nation's liberty has been taken away, it is to be recovered part by part, or, as some express it, *step by step*.

In ascending a mountain, which is an *animal* labour of our *limbs*, we must, it is true, proceed *step by step*; but in a work of *intellect*, in reclaiming a *stolen right*, in demanding *justice*, which can no otherwise be obtained than by being of *one mind*, the case is different.

The experience of all times has proved, that a Despotism is not to be put down *progressively*; but must be subdued at once, or not at all.

To that end, therefore, UNANIMITY is the ONE THING NEEDFUL. Wanting this, the People of course fail; while a Nation that is of ONE MIND assuredly succeeds.

VIII. How is UNANIMITY to be brought about?—By the potent charm of honest dealing, and the spirit-stirring power of manly decision, combined with the omnipotence of Truth.

These will influence a People, whom calamity, and a despair of good from aught else, have prepared to unite for that which alone can afford relief,—for that Reform which is wholly to free them from Taxation except with their own consent, given through Representatives held to their interest by the control of annual election.

Thus speaks Nature, in language that is intelligible. Thus—but thus alone—shall be produced a UNANIMITY, before which no DESPOTISM can stand.

IX. When Rights are such that he who runs may read, and he who reads must feel them at his heart, the language of *ambiguity* is cause of *distrust*; cautious *reserve* creates *suspicion*; and sneaking *timidity* breeds nought but *contempt*.

Such are the sentiments of the HAMPDEN ASSOCIATION. With these sentiments, its Committee address you with frankness. Having so done, it is its wish that every Englishman shall as freely think, and as freely act.

X. Here, Sir, it is material to remark, that the Committee have not heard of a single existing Petition which expressly prays that parliaments may be again made *triennial*; nor of more than half a dozen, which desire that parliaments may be *shortened*, but without specifying in what degree; while, on the other hand, they are already in possession of more than five hundred Petitions, signed by upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand Persons, who claim parlia-

ments of a continuance not exceeding ONE YEAR, as the undoubted Right of the English Nation.

Then, surely, Sir, any one who is himself in a state of *ignorance*—for knowledge removes *doubt*—will pause ere he venture, by *proposing* ought that is *equivocal*, on rashly breaking in upon such an advance, and on ground so solid, towards NATIONAL UNANIMITY! That one who really *doubted* should suspend *his own* declaration, were commendable; but that he should become active for preventing the declarations of such as had no doubts, would have a very questionable appearance.

XI. Under such circumstances as the present, were our countrymen, for instance, to be advised to petition for parliaments that should have a ‘*constitutional* continuance,’ without explaining what, in that respect, *is* constitutional, must not such advisers have to encounter, from every well-informed and spirited Englishman, interrogatories and comments such as these:—

‘How is this? On a point essential to our Liberties, on a fundamental of our Constitution, are you really ignorant? If so, we must needs say, these are not times for blind guides.

‘If not ignorant, then your conduct, whether we contemplate the effect on the Public, or on Parliament, has a worse aspect. To use, on so vital a point, the language of ignorance or of ambiguity, is to favour the absurd notion of shallow, and the insidious lesson of factious men, that Parliamentary duration is mere matter of judgment and discretion.

‘When to remove ignorance and dispel doubt, ought to be the effort of every enlightened patriot, when nought can save us but knowledge, unanimity, and firmness, this equivocal language on a right that is certain, this timidity of expression on a right we must recover, or be slaves, is most reprehensible. ’Tis to invite, to stimulate, to beat up for pusillanimity and disunion.

‘Would you tempt the People to risk a rivetting of their chains, by leaving the interpretation of your equivocal words to their oppressors, to the very faction whose explanation would be the death of Freedom!

‘Why go ye not one step farther? Why not altogether drop the word *constitution*, counselling us merely to state, that we are aggrieved, and desire to be redressed, but humbly submit the *means* to that honourable House, in which the seats, and consequently the People, are bought and sold?

‘We, however, should recommend it to you, first to try the soundness of your advice on the People of Morocco. On merely telling their emperor they like not slavery and desire freedom, should he make them free, we may then adopt your mode for recovering the liberties of England.’—Such is the reprehension to which wrong advisers would expose themselves.

No, Sir, we are not desirous of being thought blind guides; still

less would we have our sincerity suspected. In our judgment, the time is come for speaking plain, and to the purpose.

XII. Had any thing been wanting to a conviction of the necessity of a radical reform, or to unanimity in its support, it has, on a recent occasion, been well supplied.

Without at all entering into the merits of the Corn Bill, we saw, that while the House of Commons voted on it in direct opposition to a Public Voice, more unequivocally expressed than on any former occasion, *it called around it a standing army of soldiers well furnished with ball cartridges.*

When such is become *the mode of settling questions* between a House of Commons and the People, whose organ and very image that House ought to be, who sees not that the sole alternative left us, is either a radical Reform, or the military despotism of a corrupt and many-headed Oligarchy, the most hateful of all Tyrannies!

XIII. Between voting, however, on a *Corn Bill*, and voting on *Petitions of Right*, there is a distinction which claims particular notice.

While few were competent to judge of a strange phenomenon, new in politics, that of cheap bread being thought by grave statesmen to be a public evil; and while the *Corn Bill* was involved in the niceties of three abstruse sciences, Finance, Commerce, and Political Economy, we may admit that votes for that bill, might have been given conscientiously.

But when the same persons, or any others, shall have to vote on the three concise propositions in the Prayer of our *Petitions of Right*, each proposition an undeniable principle of the Constitution, they will find themselves in a different situation.

Self-evident principles are stubborn, unmanageable things. They have but one shape and one aspect. They shut out mystery. They are not susceptible of refinement. They are files to the tongues of learned vipers. Casuists they confound, and the sophistry of knaves they defy.

XIV. These principles will shew us whether in any assembly, or in any society of English Gentlemen, it will be found possible, in open day, and in the face of the Nation, to vote *against* self-evident Right, and *for* self-evident iniquity: Whether, in defiance of truth, of justice, of argument, and public conviction, it will be found possible to advocate the continuance of a despotic power of taking money out of every Englishman's pocket without his consent; and of subjecting his property to discretionary demands as little founded in right, as those occasionally made on Hounslow Heath; and for all this, pleading conscience.

XV. When petitioning in your parts may have been carried into effect, the Committee, Sir, would esteem it a favour to be informed of the number of *Petitions*, the places they come from, and the number of signatures, for entry in the Register they keep.

If they can in Town be useful to the friends of this great cause in the Country, their best services may be freely commanded.

Should any instances occur of *obstruction* in the exercise of the sacred right of petitioning, the evidence of the facts ought to be carefully taken in writing, and preserved.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

F. Burdett

Chairman of the Committee.

Committee Room

No. 7, Bury-street, St. James's,

April, 1815.

Cl. Com.

HAMPDEN CLUB,

SATURDAY, MARCH 4th, 1815.

EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS.

That the following Form of a Petition, which has been read, is approved of, as the one which shall be printed and circulated by means of our Subscription; to be proposed in Meetings of Counties, Parishes, or Districts; or otherwise tendered for the Signatures of such as may approve the same.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRE-
LAND, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED,

THE Petition of the Undersigned, Inhabitants of

SHEWETH,

That your Petitioners have a full and immoveable conviction, a conviction which they believe to be universal throughout the Kingdom, that your Honourable House doth not, in any constitutional or rational sense, represent the nation.

That when the People have ceased to be represented, the Constitution is subverted:

That Taxation without Representation is a state of Slavery:

That war, as a cause of excessive taxes, being the Harvest of those who live by Corruption, the cause and character of the war which commenced in 1793, your Petitioners now conceive to be, by the enlightened part of the community, well understood.

That as the tremendous tempest of war is not to be stayed at the bidding of those in whose mad and wicked counsels it had its origin, so it is probable that the Contrivers of the late war did not intend the magnitude and duration it attained, which magnitude and duration, by the portentous calamities now found in their train, are fast opening the eyes of a deluded nation to the evil deeds of its authors:

That now these wicked rulers, themselves, if not infatuated, must know, that either that usurpation which has divested the People of their Representation must be for ever put down; or the liberty of England must perish, and the security of property be annihilated.

That there is no property in that which any person or persons, any power or authority, can take from the people without their consent.

That the scourging of a Taxation without Representation is arrived at a severity too harrassing and vexatious, too intolerable and degrading, to be longer endured without being unceasingly protested against, and as unceasingly resisted by all possible means warranted by the Constitution, until redress be obtained.

That in such a condition of their Country, your Petitioners are shocked to behold contending factions, alike guilty of their Country's wrongs, alike forgetful of her Rights, mocking the public patience with repeated, protracted, and disgusting debates, on questions of refinement in the complicated and abstruse science of Taxation; as if in such refinements, and not in a reformed Representation; as if in a consolidated corruption, and not in a renovated Constitution, relief were to be found.

That in the discussions which they have witnessed, your Petitioners see nought but what hath a direct tendency to place the English People in a situation, in which the unrelenting lash of unconstitutional taxation may, in all time to come, be laid on to the utmost extent of human endurance:

That instead of such a course, your Petitioners hold it to be self-evident, that there are not any human means of redressing the People's wrongs, or composing their distracted minds; or of preventing the subversion of Liberty and the Establishment of Despotism; unless by calling the collective wisdom and virtue of the Community into Council, by the election of a free Parliament:

Wherefore, considering, that through the usurpation of a Borough Faction and other causes, the People have been put even out of a condition to consent to Taxes; and considering also, that until their sacred Rights of Election shall be restored, no free Parliament can have exist-

ance; your Petitioners pray that your Honourable House will, without delay, pass a law for putting the aggrieved and much-wronged People in possession of their undoubted rights:—to Representation co-extensive, at the least, with direct Taxation—to an equal distribution throughout the Community, of such Representation;—and to Parliaments of a continuance according to the Constitution, namely, not exceeding one year.

N.B. The whole, or any part, of the foregoing Petition which is *in italics*, may be omitted at discretion.

FORM OF THE HAND BILL.

TAXES at the WILL of the BOROUGH FACTION,

OR,

TAXES according to the CONSTITUTION.

“ Choose you this Day which you prefer : As for me and my House, we prefer the Constitution!” HAMPDEN.

A REFORM in the REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE in the COMMONS HOUSE of Parliament, is the only measure which affords any hope of seeing UNNECESSARY WAR, with its ruinous Expense, avoided; USELESS OFFICES, SINECURE PLACES, and UNMERITED PENSIONS abolished; the POOR RATES considerably reduced; and such ECONOMY in every department of the State introduced; as to enable a virtuous Parliament materially to lessen those TAXES which bear the most heavily on the GROWERS OF CORN, or on the LABOURING CLASSES OF THE COMMUNITY; namely the TAXES on CANDLES, SOAP, SALT, SUGAR, and LEATHER.

A PETITION FOR SUCH REFORM lies for Signature,

At

At

And at

* LETTERS to CLARKSON on AFRICAN and ENGLISH FREEDOM.*

'The rights and Liberties of England are committed to the keeping of THE PEOPLE.'

"Appeal, of 1812, to the Nation, p. 75."

The subjoined extracts from these LETTERS will shew what is the SOLE OBSTACLE to a recovery of NATIONAL LIBERTY; as well as what are the SOLE MEANS, whereby that OBSTACLE is to be overcome.

P. 22. "What, then, was the OBSTACLE which the virtuous men I have named, and their associates, had this year to encounter? Why not rely on the mere good sense and consistency of *Parliament* itself?—No: THE KING'S MINISTER—the very man arraigned in 1809, for SELLING THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, their Laws and Liberties by the sale of Parliamentary Seats, had signed a Treaty, giving a renewed sanction to the selling of African Negroes. This was sufficient to convince the Orators that, unless the *Nation itself* should once more raise its voice in the cause, they had no hope of success; while, provided the nation should answer to their call, they were confident of accomplishing their object.

"This conviction, this strong feeling of those experienced men, that unti THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE from the four winds of heaven, should breathe upon a certain assembly, it would continue to be as the assembled skeletons in the Valley of Dry Bones, (so strikingly pictured by *Ezekiel*) utterly incapable of the functions of true political life,—this conviction of those experienced persons, remarkably illustrates, and fully confirms the doctrine I have invariably inculcated, namely, that RADICAL Reform is the only PRACTICABLE Reform."

P. 23. Earl Grey said, "His object had been to show them the magnitude of the danger, that their efforts to avert it might be commensurate to it, and to beseech them that their feelings might not end in a temporary expression, but that they should impress them on the minds of their children, on their friends, on public assemblies, and strive in their families, their counties, and in Parliament, to apply a remedy,"

P. 25. Sir Samuel Romilly remarked, that, "It became THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND to interfere, and with one voice to insist upon the COMPLETE ABOLITION:—no half measure mind you, but THE COMPLETE ABOLITION:—He believed that, generally, individuals were not aware of the influence and power they possessed when united in a common cause, although the abolition itself, and many other important measures had been carried by the united energies of the inhabitants of this country. Those numerous PETITIONS with which the tables of the Legislature had been crowded, the Parliament could not resist, and the object so supported, was certain to be effected; and every man who signed them, had the delight of knowing that he shared the glory."

P. 24. According to Mr. Wilberforce, "It was the main object of the meeting that every individual, in his separate walk of life, should endeavour to disseminate knowledge on this important subject, and to awake the feelings which knowledge on such a subject must produce. He himself felt deeply criminal in having been remiss in spreading that intelligence!—All should endeavour to excite universal disgust against this horrid traffic;—following the example of his friend Mr. Brougham, who, by the law which he had introduced into Parliament, had stamped a character of infamy on the traffic, and caused the trader to be considered, not only as the perpetrator of an act forbidden by the law, but as one whose occupation was equally disgraceful with that of the housebreaker, or the pick-pocket."

P. 25. Though last, not least of the generous band, permit me now to repeat the sentiments of Mr. *Whitbread*; that Gentleman, "Hoped they would all adopt the PETITION which he had the honour to propose to them, and give it their signatures. He wished all of them to use their influence in the diffusion of the sentiments of that Petition, till they became NATIONAL beyond all that was recorded in history; * in order that Parliament, speaking the language for once of a united and universal people, might be enabled to restore us to the great and proud situation in which we stood before the signature of the Treaty."

P. 25. "Let what would be the government, and who ever might be the ruler, this was a question," proceeded Mr. *Whitbread*, "which, with or without alliance, he would not be disposed to abandon, and till it was carried, he thought the sword ought not to be sheathed."

P. 25. "There was too much of sincerity in the manner of the late movement, too ardent a call on the PUBLIC for an expression of its OPINION, and too unreserved a declaration of the right MEANS of proceeding for insuring success, to admit a possibility of imagining, that these distinguished persons would tamely crouch in silence to any power on earth, which should hope, by an adherence to the abominable article of the late Treaty, to revive the African-Slave Trade, in defiance of THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND. The object of the movement was, not to prevent the existence of an article so disgraceful; but, knowing it to exist, to cause it to be expunged."

Mr. *Whitbread* further said, "that to adopt the PETITION was the ONLY MEANS by which they could hope to see accomplished the work in which they were engaged: but without a general expression of the sentiments of THE PEOPLE, their wishes would be ineffectual." "The Members of the Legislature had been more than once compelled to listen to the voice of THE PEOPLE; and it was well known to most of them, that a late measure, the Property Tax, had been abandoned in consequence of the universal feeling of THE PUBLIC against it.

"They had but to SPEAK and to ACT, and they needed not to despair, that at the approaching Congress their wishes would be accomplished, and their national character redeemed; and that they would yet save Africa from the ruin with which it was threatened.

"They ought to endeavour to obtain the signature of every man in the country, and each to exert himself in his respective sphere."

P. 26. "The scope of this spirit-stirring language was not restricted, as is too often the case in politics, to the question immediately in hand: that of averting a renewal of slavery from the *Negroes of Africa*; but was equally clear and emphatic, as to the RIGHT MEANS, and the SOLE MEANS, of removing the yoke of slavery from the neck of ENGLAND."

P. 27. "Subscribing to every word spoken by these enlightened men, or which can be spoken, in favour of NEGRO LIBERTY, I yet feel that ENGLISH LIBERTY, has a still stronger claim to my exertions. In God's name, let us give to the *Negro* all we owe him; but to the *Englishman* let us not give less! For the NEGRO PEOPLE, let us unite, let us state their wrongs, let us, raising a voice which Parliament will not disregard, call for JUSTICE! But then for the ENGLISH PEOPLE, let us equally demand a redress of their grievances, their paramount wrong; and, by an assertion of their evident right, seen by every eye, and felt in every heart, let us, in the language of our Bill of Rights, claim, demand, and insist upon a complete, a radical abolition of the rotten-borough Slave Trade, and a perfect Establishment of Constitutional Liberty; so that Parliament, not merely for once, but for ever afterwards, shall speak the language of a united and universal People."

P. 29. "Their conduct towards an abolition of the ACCURSED BOROUGH SLAVE TRADE, now that War can no longer be a plea for postponement, we may therefore anticipate. In the sale of Parliamentary Seats, do they not daily

* They were signed by 750,449, Persons.

see THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND BOUGHT AND SOLD? As *African* patriots, their part has been well played. As *English* patriots, a nobler part remains to be sustained, a service to humanity to be performed as much greater in extent and magnitude, as fulfilling the weightier matters of the law, is superior to paying tithe of mint, anise and cummin.

"Have I mis-stated our comparative duties to *Negroland* and to *England*? Does RELIGION, which requires at our hand the lesser duty, absolve us from the greater? Has CHRISTIANITY, which pours into the political wounds of *Africa* the wine and oil that heals them, no balm for healing the state-ulcers of our own Country?"

P. 51. "Their doctrine, drawn from Truth and Nature, is, that *without unanimity*, NOTHING can be effected; with it, EVERY THING; that to go to work BY HALVES, were folly and certain failure; but RADICALLY to set about it, true wisdom and certain success. Assemble, they therefore say, your '*Counties*,' plead in the '*Public Assemblies*,' reason with '*your Friends*,' exhort '*your Families*,' 'and animate even your little Children;' 'let the diffusion of your sentiments be universal;' impress them '*on every individual*;' 'nor let the expression of your feelings be temporary, but persevering, until they become NATIONAL, beyond all that is recorded in History."

'Disseminate knowledge on the subject?—awake the feelings of the Nation; excite universal disgust against the horrid traffic;—stamp it with a character of infamy?—It becomes the NATION to interfere;—let Parliament hear the language of a united and universal PEOPLE;—let them '*with one voice*, insist upon the COMPLETE ABOLITION.' Every thing must yield to '*the united energies of the inhabitants of this country*;'—'their numerous PETITIONS Parliament could not resist';—the object so supported was certain to be effected;—'obtain the signature of every man in the country;—they have but to SPEAK and to ACT,' and, 'they would restore us to the great and proud situation in which we once stood!' The lesson all through is, PETITION! PETITION! PETITION! unceasingly PETITION, till crowned with victory."

Seeing that *Petitions* did not prevent the *Corn Bill*, why, it is asked, are *Petitions* to obtain a *Parliamentary Reform*?—It is answered, that the cases are *materially different*. In one case, the remonstrance was merely against the imposition of one additional tax: In the other, it is against being held in *perpetual slavery*, subject to an unlimited and merciless taxation, at the arbitrary will of men who have stolen into the seats of legislation, against the Rights and Liberty of the People.

In the former case, the *desperation* of Ministers on the subject of the *Finances*, drove them to the hazardous experiment of inflaming the Nation, trusting that if, by aid of their armed force, they could carry their point, the People would submit to one additional tax.

But when, by the language of *Petitions*, Ministers shall find that the People accurately understand the Constitution, and that they demand Justice, and claim a Right, without which they and their posterity must be for ever in a condition of *absolute slavery*, with its unbounded and merciless Taxation, at the will of usurpers, can it be imagined that Ministers will dare to tell the People in no unequivocal terms, that THEY AND THEIR POSTERITY SHALL BE SLAVES!



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